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The Shape of Things

ONCE again the friends of Franco Spain are trying to force through the United Nations a resolution admitting Spain to the specialized agencies and restoring ambassadors to Madrid. The inspiration for the current move, which is ostensibly sponsored by Brazil, came from the United States delegation, despite the fact that on five separate occasions since 1945 President Truman has reaffirmed this country's condemnation of the Franco regime and the decision that Spain may not be admitted to the U. N. so long as Franco remains in power. In the three years since the passage of the resolution banning Spain from the specialized agencies and withdrawing ambassadors, the situation in Spain has not changed, except for the worse. The Caudillo must still be characterized as a fascist who owes his position of power to the aid he received from Hitler and Mussolini. In the circumstances it is astounding that any defense can be offered for United States support of the proposed action. Peace cannot be built on a rotten alliance with the last remnant of Nazism still in power. Vigorous opposition by American liberals who believe that concern for a democratic Spain is not the exclusive prerogative of the Communists or the Soviet bloc can result in a new anti-Franco directive by President Truman. The Nation Associates is at this moment telegraphing appeals to liberal Americans to register their protests at the White House, and we urge our readers to write, wire, or phone their Congressmen and the President. The debate at the U. N. will probably be in progress when this issue appears; so act at once!

THE COMMUNIST VICTORY AT NANKING and the collapse of the Yangtze River defenses illustrate once again, not the strength of the Communist forces, but the utter bankruptcy of the Kuomintang regime. No real effort was made to defend the Nationalists' capital. When the Communists attacked, the Kuomintang military and civilian officials had but one aim: to escape with as much personal property as possible. American correspondents at Nanking report that on the last day the airport was jammed with furniture—including a piano!—which officials and generals were seeking to have airlifted to safety. The Kuomintang leaders appear to have been so busy saving their personal effects that they neglected to take elementary precautions for police protection for the city during the change-over. Thus for the third time in less than a generation—in 1927, in 1937, and in 1949—Nanking became the scene of wild rioting and looting. Only this time, in contrast to the two previous occasions, it was not the conquering army but the residents of the city itself that engaged in the looting. As in 1927 and 1937, the change-over was accompanied by a serious incident involving a foreign power. On the two previous occasions American lives were lost. This time forty-four British sailors were killed when the Amethyst, followed by three rescue vessels, attempted to steam up the Yangtze at the exact instant that the Communists launched their long-expected attack. Many details regarding the incident are still obscure, but the report that the Communists had thrown a pontoon bridge across the river below the capital might explain why the Reds were determined that no vessel should go up the river at that time. Whatever may be the outcome of the Amethyst incident, it is good to note that we have scrupulously adhered to our declared policy of keeping American naval vessels out of reach of the guns of either side.

*

A FEW MINUTES BEFORE LAST THURSDAY midnight, after twelve dramatic hours of parliamentary in-fighting, attempted amendment, and heated debate, the Senate passed and sent to the House its national housing bill. It is far from perfect in many respects, and it is a totally insufficient bill in one major respect—middle-income housing. All the same it is one of the most important and overdue pieces of legislation now under consideration. Fifteen million new dwellings are needed in "homeless America," and the present proposal, while it could not fill that need, can do much to unfreeze the financial and psychological impediments to large-scale housing. It provides $1,500,000 for a five-year slum-clearance plan, schedules construction of 810,000 low-rent public-housing units in the next six years, and establishes an extensive research program to examine methods to cut building costs and improve building techniques. The Senate vote was fifty-seven to thirteen, the largest majority ever to be given such a bill despite all the efforts of the real-estate lobby to sabo-

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tage it, especially including Senator Bricker's pseudo "civil-rights" amendment, which Thomas Sancton discusses on page 490. The House version of the bill will undoubtedly face just as stiff an opposition as soon as it emerges from the Banking and Currency Committee, but this time, at least, it *will* emerge, as it did not on two previous occasions, when it was squelched in committee by Representative Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan. Wolcott or one of his allies may be expected to try to entangle it in the same snare set by Bricker; if the Administration puts the heat on, however, this maneuver will fail. Experts who have counted the House say the measure can pass by thirty to forty votes. It is high time it did, even if the housing shortage of America's three million middle-income families must now be overcome by separate legislation.

*

TWO OF THE SOUREST JOKES OF THE PAST week, or of any week, involve Westbrook Pegler and Representative John Rankin. From the University of Missouri's School of Journalism comes word that Mr. Pegler has been invited to address the students in a program celebrating Journalism Week. Unless he is to be held up as a horrible example, we can imagine no valid reason for exposing the students to a man who by the school's own Creed for Journalists has put himself beyond the pale. The Creed states, among other lofty sentiments, that "no one should write as a journalist what he would not say as a gentleman." Pegler scurrilously described Eleanor Roosevelt as "the daughter of a dissolute drunkard, raised in the presence of two drunken uncles and an aunt who was given to 'love affairs.'" According to the Creed, good journalism is "unswayed . . . by the clamor of the mob." Commenting on a lynching in 1933, Mr. Pegler wrote: "Fine, that's swell." The Creed says that good journalism "is a journalism of humanity." Westbrook Pegler has told his readers that "not enough pickets were killed by law-abiding citizens during the . . . birth of the C. I. O.," but that "we have had two salutary killings within the last year." A free press must bear with its crackpots, but there is nothing in the code that requires schools of journalism to do them honor.

*

AS FOR MR. RANKIN, OUR READERS MAY BE amused at his sudden concern for protecting the reputation of defenseless individuals against slander. Working himself into a lather over Drew Pearson's attack on former Secretary of Defense Forrestal, the indignant Congressman told the House: "I wonder how much longer that loathesome slime-monger of the air will be permitted to carry on his filthy diatribes against decent individuals who are unable to defend themselves." This from the man who has used his Congressional immunity with such recklessness to ruin the lives of citizens that his own party had to remove him from the Un-American

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Affairs Committee, where he had so abused his power. If it was reprehensible of Pearson to attack a sick man, what should be said of Rankin's committee, which knowingly kept a victim of a weak heart on the stand, grilling him so unmercifully—and unfairly—that he died a few days later? Forrestal could at least hold over Pearson's head the threat of a lawsuit, but the little demagogue from Mississippi knew that he ran no such risk in abusing the scores of men and women he has hounded for the sake of headlines.

*

TWICE WITHIN THE PAST FIFTEEN MONTHS President Truman has ordered the end of discrimination in the armed services. Yet nothing much has happened, partly because the President has allowed the services to exercise their own discretion in determining just how quickly Jim Crow could be discharged "without impairing efficiency or morale." Now the new Secretary of Defense has moved vigorously. In his first important official act Louis Johnson last week ordered his subordinates to inform him by May 1 on past progress and future plans for implementation of the President's program. At the same time he directed them to enlist, train, and promote their personnel "on the basis of individual merit and ability" and to assign qualified personnel "to fill any type of position vacancy in organizations or overhead installations without regard to race." The important word here is "organizations," for it implies active combat units rather than the "housekeeping" units to which most Negro troops have been restricted. But these forthright words were offset by some halting ones. While "all Negroes will not necessarily be assigned to Negro units, . . . some units may continue to be" exclusively Negro. Here is the crux of the issue, and Mr. Johnson—working, it is true, within a framework established for him by the President—has failed to depart, once and for all, from the "separate-but-equal" pattern. He has also allowed the generals and admirals one last loophole of escape from quick and full reform. Nevertheless, he has taken a commendable forward step, and his edict certainly had at least partial bearing on the resignation, two days later, of that staunch defender of segregation, Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army.

*

THE WEST IS FACING ANOTHER BOOM WITH the announcement that the Atomic Energy Commission intends to spend $500,000,000 for an atomic-reactor plant on a 173,000-acre tract in Idaho. The little town of Arco, population 600, is growing like a silver camp in the last century. An airport is being built, the local jail is being enlarged, and town lots are selling for fantastic prices. The population of Pocatello, the nearest city, is expected to increase from 45,000 to 100,000 in the next few years. About the only traffic that has passed through Arco for years has been tourists en route to the nearby extinct volcano region known as the "Craters of the Moon," and this wasteland provides an appropriate setting for the new atomic plant. Westerners who have known this region have always said that it "must be good for something," and now their faith has been redeemed, but in a manner that must somehow rob fulfilment of delight.

*

SENATOR JOHN L. McCLELLAN, OF ARKANSAS, a member of the Hoover Commission and chairman of the Senate committee which will handle the bill to reorganize the executive branch of the government, recently received a flood of suspiciously similar telegrams and letters from California asking that the Army Engineers be exempt from the bill's provisions. It will be recalled that the Army Engineers won exemption from the reorganization bill of 1945 by a similar last-minute pressure campaign. Most of the messages have come from engineering, construction, and supply companies or from concerns such as the California Packing Corporation and the large farm interests of California. If the Senator is well-advised he will discount this synthetic pressure campaign and use the occasion to inquire into the background of the Army Engineers and the curious political alliances they have long cultivated.

Death of a Crusader

STEPHEN S. WISE had a quality reformers often lack. He had color and drama, fire in his veins and passion in his voice. A great preacher and crusader, he was at the same time a personality full of the varied, seemingly incongruous elements that make a man stand out among his fellows. People called him a play actor, and this he was; but at the same time, and without contradiction, he was ardently sincere. He had vanity but not the slightest taint of self-seeking. He was a gregarious man, yet essentially rather a lonely one. Some aspect of his nature, hard to define, kept him apart from intimate associations in his work and social life, though his relations with his family were profoundly emotional.

This rich and many-sided nature, together with unusual gifts as speaker and organizer, led Dr. Wise into fields stretching far beyond his service as rabbi of the famous Free Synagogue in New York or even as Jewish leader and Zionist. Above all, he was a militant democrat—a liberal who looked upon liberalism as a cause to fight for as well as an attitude of mind. It was this central faith that he carried like a banner into his crusade for Zionism, his work for civic reform, his ardent support of Franklin D. Roosevelt, his merciless attack on Hitlerism and on the poisons of discrimination and intolerance wherever they spread. He believed that a religious leader had the duty as well as the right to preach doctrines of

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social and political change, and more than once he braved the opposition of conservatives in his own congregation to denounce evils they preferred not to notice. It is characteristic that one of Dr. Wise's last gestures was to approve the stand taken by Dr. John Howard Melish in defying Bishop De Wolfe.

One can share the regret of his friends that Stephen Wise could not fulfil his deep desire to visit Israel. Yet he knew the immense satisfaction of witnessing the birth of the Jewish state and its vigorous start toward the democratic future he had long dreamed of. To Rabbi Wise Judaism represented a moral obligation to labor without end for a society free from corruption, inequality, injustice, and war; in Israel he saw the great opportunity for this dream to be made true.

Blockade and Dilemma

REPORTS of Soviet intentions to lift the blockade of Berlin are too numerous and too substantial to be dismissed as wishful thinking on the part of the Germans, though they may turn out in the end to have been no more than that. Certainly the Communist Party in both the eastern and the western zone has been hammering away at the vital need for a speedy restoration of interzonal trade, which it fully realizes must be preceded by an abandonment of the blockade. The Berlin *Sozialdemokrat* reports that the Soviet military administration has already issued instructions for the repair of rolling stock of the railroad network of the eastern zone and has specifically directed that the Berlin-Cologne train be included in the summer timetable. Friedrich Ebert, "Communist Mayor of Russian Berlin," has made two direct approaches to Mayor Reuter for resumption of trade.

Certainly the Russians have good reason to desire an end to a situation which has done them no good, provided they can reverse themselves without loss of face. On the negative side, they must act to arrest the deterioration of economic conditions in the eastern zone. According to Drew Middleton, reporting to the New York *Times*, the depressed state of affairs has cost the Socialist Unity Party (Communist-controlled) much of its political influence and even strained relations between the German Communists and the Soviet military administration. Second, the longer the blockade lasts the greater the demonstration of Western power by way of the air lift. But the Russians have very much more positive reasons for a dramatic move in Berlin at this moment. A sudden lifting of the siege would perhaps add to the confusion in Washington and weaken the case for the Atlantic Pact. More directly, it would reduce the probability that a western German state will emerge from the strife-torn conference at Bonn.

It is this last objective which would seem to be the crucial one. It was to block creation of the western state that the Russians imposed the blockade in the first place, and Stalin has several times made it plain that we could have it lifted if we agreed to abandon, or at least postpone, that project. What nobody figured on was that a stalemate would develop out of failure on both sides. The blockade was unsuccessful because of the air lift, and formation of a western Germany has been delayed, not by the Russians, but by divisions between the German parties and between the Western powers.

Soviet strategy, apparently, is to abandon the blockade now that it is neither successful nor necessary, and turn that very abandonment into a wedge with which to deepen the divisions in the west. Never happy over the prospect of a bifurcated Germany, the Social Democrats at Bonn may need only the prospect of conciliation on the part of the Russians to go over to the camp of national unity, where they would find not only the Communists but spokesmen of German business and nationalism as well. Indeed Dr. Kurt Schumacher, head of the Social Democratic Party, is reported to have received a written plea to this effect from the Communists of the Socialist Unity Party.

It is at this juncture, when the greatest degree of tact is required of us, that our military officials appear bent on applying the bludgeon. One of them is quoted by Drew Middleton as saying: "As long as there is disagreement between the two principal German political parties on the constitution . . . the Russians can bide their time." And another, more specific, commented, "The Socialists are doing the Russians' job for them." It is worth noting that our pressure is directed against the Social Democrats, who want a central government strong enough to assure economic changes, and not against the Christian Democrats, numerically weaker, who seek a decentralized federation incapable of any degree of socialization.

Caught between two fires, the Social Democrats may yield to the West. But whichever way they yield, it will be the Communists who profit. Once more we have demonstrated an unsurpassed ability to beat an opponent physically, this time through the air lift, only to yield on the field of political imagination.

Coming Soon in "The Nation"

Ugly Mood in Russia
A Dispatch from Eastern Europe
BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Germany's House of Glass
A Report on the Bonn Parliament
BY CAROLUS

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Peace and Politics

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris, April 23 (by radio)

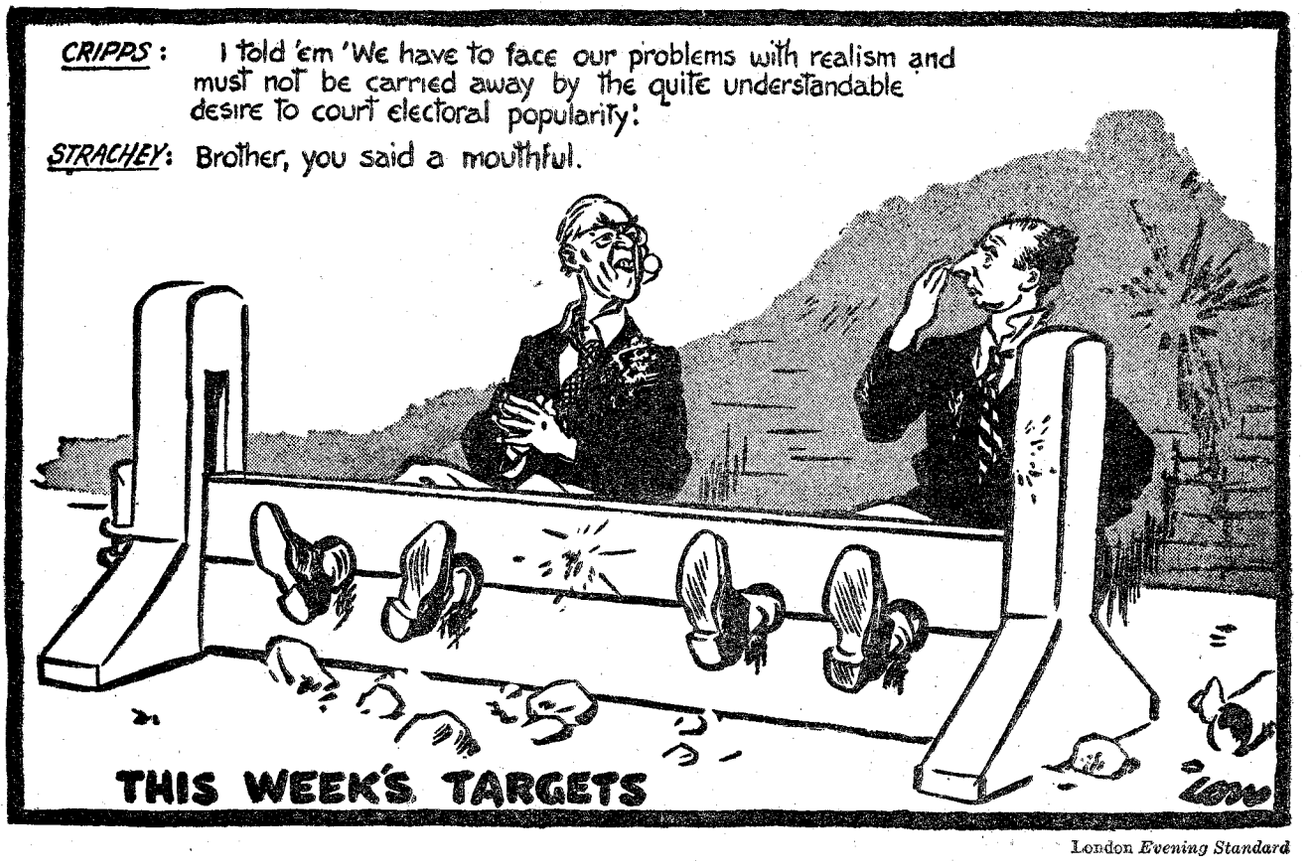
WITH the World Peace Congress now in full swing, the conditions under which it was prepared are paying off. There were two possibilities. If the Congress had been built on a broad political base, it could have caused a political shock of great consequence, demonstrating the unity of the left against the Atlantic Pact. But in this case the Communists would have had to accept criticism, perhaps violent criticism, against the U. S. S. R. If on a narrow basis, made up mostly of Communists, Western fellow-travelers, and officials from the Eastern European countries, then it would be a nice obedient meeting, but it would have little meaning and little effect. The second course is the one that was followed.

It was the same old dilemma of popular fronts all over the world. Communists and Communist-sympathizers as such are politically isolated. No prominent non-Communist leftists wanted to share the responsibility of organizing the Congress. At the same time, its sponsors made no serious effort at first to draw them in. When it became apparent that the basis of the Congress was too narrow, a last-minute invitation was given the *Esprit* group, David Rousset and the *Franc-Tireur*, the Garry Davis group, myself and my friends. This attempt failed for a number of reasons: First, it was too late: the non-Communist-left peace congress had already been organized and scheduled for April 30; second, the hostility of the Communists toward the group around *Franc-Tireur*, which in turn made the blunder of publishing an account of the negotiations before final settlement. But the main difficulty was that the Communists greatly feared criticism inside the Congress. It is also possible that the Soviets, fearing any degree of westernization of the Eastern delegates that might develop from their fraternizing with free leftists, preferred the usual set of safe fellow-travelers. The Moscow radio launched a violent anti-Trotskyite outbreak on the morning the negotiations were broken off.

Thus the Congress may be a success in numbers, but it is devoid of any great political significance. Time and Communist mentality are evidently not yet ripe for fair play and cooperation.

The only politically interesting speech has been that of Zilliacus, as usual the only Communist sympathizer who dares dissent publicly from the U. S. S. R. Parenthetically, Joliot's emphatic speech at the opening of the Congress was important because he knew it would be used against him by the right. There are two possible explanations: either Joliot, who has been suspected of cooling down, felt he must justify himself before the party; or he knows that the government, under American pressure, has already decided to oust him from his post of atomic research. Maybe both are true.

CLAUDE BOURDET is chief editor of Combat. *He contributed an article, A Plea for a Neutral Europe, to* The Nation *of April 2.*


CRIPPS: I told 'em 'We have to face our problems with realism and must not be carried away by the quite understandable desire to court electoral popularity'.
STRACHEY: Brother, you said a mouthful.
THIS WEEK'S TARGETS
Low

London *Evening Standard*

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Housing and Segregation

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, April 22

SCHOTT'S Alley is a filthy, verminous Negro slum just across the street from the Senate Office Building, and this week the Senate—along with a group of reporters, photographers, and newsreel camera men—discovered it. The Senators' tour did not take them more than five or six blocks from the Capitol, but they found conditions of filth, poverty, and misery as bad as anything that exists in the nation. A police sergeant told the group that the area was "lousy" in every sense of the word, and that a louse expert from the Bureau of Entomology had filed a standing request with the police department to be allowed to examine every corpse found there. Finding corpses is not an unusual event, either. Last year an old man was found frozen to death in an outdoor privy. "The smell!" Senator Baldwin exclaimed at one point. "How do they stand it? It's bad enough when this high wind is blowing. What must it be like in the hot summer months?"

The tour was the outgrowth of a statement made by Senator Flanders, a relatively liberal Vermont Republican, when he spoke last Monday in behalf of the housing and slum-clearance bill.

> A few weeks ago [he said] a woman visiting this country from India was interested in studying the conditions of our low-income groups. . . . She was taken to the southwest part of our city. There, within five or six blocks of the Capitol, she was shown row upon row of houses without plumbing, lighting, or heat. . . . She was shown alleys where the residents had to cook their meals outside. She was shown places where thirteen people lived in a single room. After an hour or so she was so aroused that she could not help but comment on the hypocrisy of America. "In India we have conditions as bad as these, but we do not boast of our way of life to the rest of the world."

On the day after Flanders's speech Senator Douglas, of Illinois, who with Sparkman of Alabama managed the floor fight which resulted in passage of the bill without serious amendments—the most considerable victory for the Fair Deal in the Senate to date—conducted six Senators through the area.

These slums so close to the Capitol present one of the ironic contrasts in which American life and politics abound. You can step out of the dark, dilapidated hovels of Schott's Alley, packed with the large families of the poor, and look into the bright rooms of an expensive apartment house where many Congressmen live. Some of the run-down brick buildings visited by the Senators were built by George Washington and in his day were decent middle-class dwellings. Today they are still good rental property—from the point of view of profits.

Senator Cain, an open defender of the real-estate interests, could literally hit Schott's Alley with an inkwell from his office in the Senate Building. But Cain joined with Senator Bricker in trying to kill or cripple the housing bill by loading it down with unctuously phrased and destructively intended amendments. Typical of their efforts was Bricker's anti-segregation amendment. Negroes can savor the bitter mockery of watching the most consistent reactionary in the Senate—Bricker—try to kill a housing bill with arguments against segregation. Senator Douglas's reply summed up the central issues:

> I think we should be very careful to see what the exact effects will be of the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Ohio. It necessarily creates a sharp conflict within the hearts of all of us who want on the one hand to clear the slums and to provide decent housing for the slum dwellers and who, at the same time, feel very keenly that we should not treat any race as second-class citizens. We believe that all human beings are indeed children of God and that in our democracy they should be granted equal rights and opportunities. . . . The amendment of the Senator from Ohio will in any event probably be supported by the hard core of some twenty-five to thirty [Republican] Senators who agree with his thinking in virtually all matters. It will, of course, be opposed by the approximately thirty Senators from the Southern and border states. The issue will turn on what we Democrats of the North and West, some twenty-five in number, who regard ourselves as liberals, do on this matter, together with what the small but gallant group of liberal Republicans decide to do. Now what would happen if we voted for and hence carried the Bricker amendments? . . . It would inevitably defeat the whole housing bill itself. . . . If the choice is presented between added housing with the abolition of segregation in the housing projects of the South and no housing at all, they [the Southern Senators] will choose no housing. We may deplore their feelings, as I personally do, but let us judge not, lest we ourselves be judged.

This speech, incidentally, revealed some ambiguity in the thinking of Senator Douglas, whose influence in the Senate is showing marked and significant growth. Even blatantly cynical Senators generally receive his simple but analytical speeches with unwonted respect. Such a

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theme as "let us judge not, lest we ourselves be judged," however, is obsolescent in 1949. Lincoln's magnanimity belongs within his own historical frame. This is an age in which humanitarians and liberals must pass judgment on evils like segregation; they will be found wanting if they don't.

I believe Douglas's stand against Bricker's cunning anti-segregation amendment was completely justified if anything is to be done in the near future to clean up the Schott's Alleys of the country. Negro leaders like Walter White and Leslie Perry, the representatives in Washington of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, probably dissent from this view. But I agree with an observation of Perry's to the effect that Douglas's stature will be measured by the strength of his opposition to Southern Senators on the very principle of segregation. Douglas is against it personally, and he is for the civil-rights program as written into the party platform, but he has not yet made it clear whether he is against segregation in Southern states and anywhere else it exists and is willing to advocate its positive prohibition. Undoubtedly the continuing debate will bring out his views in full in the coming months.

Douglas's views and development are important, I believe, to the liberal movement. Whether he has any chance of getting a Presidential nomination within the party framework, I do not presume even to guess. But he is emerging as one of the great figures in the Democratic Party, and I believe that if he continues to show as much strength and effectiveness in Senatorial battles as he has shown in the past, and clarifies in a forthright manner his attitude toward Southern segregationists, he would make a powerful Presidential candidate for liberal forces. If elected, he might even prove to be a leader on the scale of Franklin Roosevelt.

"New Look" in Illinois

BY ROBERT BENDINER

REFORM is currently the fashionable word in the normally scented political world of Illinois, a state that virtually made corruption its trademark from the days of "Hinky Dink" and "Bathhouse John" in Chicago down to Dwight Green's recent maladministration in the governor's mansion at Springfield. Today the talk in Illinois tends to run to the "three reformers"—Kennelly, Stevenson, and Douglas—and the experience of this trio should not only leave a heavy mark on the future of the state but afford a remarkably good laboratory study of the lot of the honest man who chooses to go into politics.

The three have in common only their amateur standing, their Democratic label, and their reputations for personal integrity. Ideologically, there is an appreciable distance between them. Mayor Martin H. Kennelly is a decent business man of limited vision who at no time presented himself to the people of Chicago as a liberal. He is a stout champion of administrative economy, slow to move, reluctant to fire or to fight, and a devout believer in studies and surveys. At most he promised Chicago clean government. Governor Adlai Stevenson might be termed a liberal conservative, a man in the tradition of Henry L. Stimson—of intellectual distinction and prominent family (his grandfather was vice-president under Grover Cleveland) and with a reputation, however unfounded, as the aristocrat engaged by *noblesse oblige* in serving the state. Paul H. Douglas is something new in the way of United States Senators from Illinois—a highly reputable economist, a thoroughgoing liberal, and a man of towering integrity. But neither labor nor any other organized group will find Douglas in its pocket. His liberalism, scholarly and broad, is not of the automatic variety, and he may well oppose measures here and there that professional liberals accept as gospel.

One other factor these three men have in common is the curious circumstance that they were all enabled to get where they are by grace of the very machine politics they have consistently opposed. Not that any of them went to the machine, hat in hand, to beg for the nomination. On the contrary, the machine, in the strange person of Colonel Jacob M. Arvey, went to them. You can hear almost any explanation of Arvey's unorthodox behavior. Some earnest Chicagoans will tell you that between battles in the South Pacific the chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee saw the light and that he came home determined to use his considerable powers for reform. A less sentimental view is that Arvey was convinced that the nature of the electorate had changed, that good government had become good politics.

Whatever the motivation, the Colonel put over Kennelly in 1946 and, flushed with the success of the venture, promoted the candidacies of both Stevenson and Douglas two years later. At first his colleagues on the state committee and elsewhere in the party balked at having to swallow so large a dose of virtue. They offered to settle for one or the other, but Arvey held his ground and the miracle was wrought. In all three cases Arvey was under pressure from the left, in the form of the

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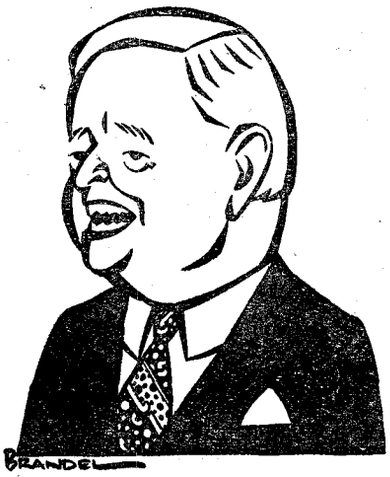
Independent Voters of Illinois (Chicago's Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action), and it remains to be seen how much of his ardor for reform rested on a conviction that only reform candidates could win. Nevertheless, it must be said to his credit that he has cooperated whole-heartedly with them ever since. I know definitely that he has not attempted to pull any political tricks on Douglas or to force the Senator's indorsement of unqualified appointees. On the contrary, he has taken rejections without complaint.

DOUGLAS and Stevenson have been in office too short a time for any appreciable opinion of their performance to be reflected even in the most articulate political circles. Some old-line party spoilsmen grumble about Stevenson's slowness in clearing out Republican holdovers to make room for deserving Democrats, and even among liberals you can hear occasional murmurs of dissatisfaction. One complained to me that the Governor seemed to have lost his snap after the inauguration, that the dynamism that captured the votes is now too little in evidence. Another suggested that his appointments were not as free of politics as they might be. But these gripes are hardly impressive. A key newspaperman told me that for every political appointment Stevenson has made, he has put at least five highly qualified men in public office—a far higher ratio, needless to say, than prevails in the country at large.

There is some grumbling, too, about Douglas's conciliatory remarks in his brush with Senator Russell of Georgia during the filibuster row. As Douglas himself commented on that occasion, he is "taking some criticism from many of [his] friends in Chicago" for voting against the hypocritical Bricker attempt to tack an anti-segregation rider to the housing bill. He is being even more sharply attacked for telling Russell that "we are not proposing to abolish segregation in the South." Nevertheless, Douglas still stands ace-high in the opinion of Illinois liberals and is reported to have drawn a more enthusiastic ovation at Stevenson's inaugural than the Governor himself.

It is for Kennelly that the real sourness of Chicago liberals is reserved. The Mayor's press is still extraordinarily favorable, Marshall Field's *Sun-Times* and McCormick's *Tribune* apparently in agreement on his virtues. But disappointment over Chicago's first two years of reform government is fairly deep among some who were Kennelly's ardent supporters. Criticism runs from the mild charge that he is too slow—"a gradualist even on ridding the city of corruption"—to the bitter judgment of an I. V. I. leader that "we were looking for a LaGuardia and we got a Grover Whalen," a man grown over-fond of "seeing his picture in the paper under such captions as 'Mayor Greets Raspberry Queen.' "

Formerly the operator of a highly successful warehouse and transportation concern, Kennelly approaches the government of Chicago as though he were still in business. He has a conscientious executive's regard for experience and a pride in his ability to get the most out of subordinates. Kennelly once explained his failure to rid his administration of hold-overs from the Kelly-Nash machine by remarking that men he had been urged to fire when he absorbed other warehouse concerns into his own business had subsequently turned out to be his most trusted executives. He has retained his predecessor's police commissioner—and in fact most of his chief advisers—although FBI figures show that the city's crime rate is higher than it was two years ago. In a brief interview I had with the Mayor he explained that these figures were misleading because the statistical method of the FBI differed from that of the city's. In fairness to him it should be said that last year he called in federal men to help reconcile the two systems of compiling such data, and a reliable index will have to wait until the end of 1949.



Mayor Kennelly

WHAT really brought down on Kennelly's head the wrath of his erstwhile liberal supporters is the city's failure to move with speed on the desperate housing front. Behind the magnificence of the lake-front drive—and not far behind—stretch some thirty square miles of the dreariest, most dilapidated slums in the United States. Fourteen of these square miles constitute Chicago's Harlem, where 320,000 people live in incredible squalor, with outmoded facilities to accommodate hardly more than two-thirds that number. If the genial and handsome Mayor is apologetic about anything, it is the fact that "slum clearance has not gone as fast" as he had hoped. "Riding through the streets of Chicago in sections where this blight exists," he says, "you feel ashamed to be the mayor of a city that has permitted such conditions to grow and expand over the years." But, the complaint is, he doesn't seem to want to move fast to get rid of them. Lacking LaGuardia's genius for slashing red tape and the complexities of government business, he calls for studies and reports until, as one critic put it, "Chicago is being surveyed to death."

I. V. I. and housing circles are still seething over the incident of the Carey ordinance. This was a proposal offered in the city council to forbid discrimination in the rental of private dwellings erected on land originally

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condemned by the city and sold to private realtors. The Mayor makes a sharp distinction between public housing, in which such discrimination is prohibited, and the slum-clearance program, in which private investors are relied on to build up the "blighted areas." Believing that potential builders, insurance companies in particular, would be frightened away by the application of public-housing regulations to private projects, he roundly attacked the Carey proposal and carried the day. The Mayor makes out a legal case for his position, if not a social one. The bond issue for the clearance program, he argues, was sold on the theory that rebuilding in the slum-cleared areas was to be a private venture, returning to the city in the form of future taxes the difference between the condemnation price of the land and the much lower price at which it was to be sold.

This argument might have satisfied the Mayor's liberal critics if he had been making progress on any level of the housing program and if the selection of sites for public-housing projects had not revealed a willingness to go along with the champions of segregation. As it is, he has engendered a bitterness which passes easily from the housing issue to numerous other grievances—the continued prevalence of crime, a transit system that almost makes the Long Island Railroad look bearable, and such nonsense as the banning of Sartre's "Respectful Prostitute" while strip-teasers warm the night-spots of West Madison Street. Nevertheless, if Kennelly were to run for reelection tomorrow, there is hardly a doubt that he would be swept back into office.

Concentrated as they are in one state, Kennelly, Stevenson, and Douglas make a notable trio for the political scientist to observe over a period of years. They should afford an ideal study of what liberals do, almost of necessity, to their own standard bearers. Once elected to office, a liberal, or even a clean-government candidate like Kennelly, becomes a kind of human sacrifice. He can either take a purist line and get absolutely nothing accomplished—in which case he is doomed—or he can begin the sordid process of trading to get a fraction of what he wants. In the course of this log-rolling he will probably trade away the fondest objectives of some of his supporters in order to achieve the fondest objectives of others. Those who feel let down will cry betrayal and will be joined by others as the process moves along. Yet it can hardly work out otherwise. If the office-holding liberal makes no concession to his opponents, indulges in no trading, he consigns himself and his causes to futility, and if his liberal backers on the outside fail to hew to the line, they sacrifice their reason to exist. The system makes for slow progress, with the victorious candidate ultimately the goat—unless, like a Roosevelt or a LaGuardia, he can so impress his personality and his fundamental purpose on the public that they will come back to him again and again, for all his trades, for all his concessions, and for all his tactical retreats.

Color-blind Summer Camps

BY KENNETH B. WEBB

Woodstock, Vermont

SUMMER camps, by virtue of the close comradeship and the frank sharing of views among the children, can do a great deal to broaden the racial attitudes of the next generation. A beginning has already been made in this direction, and various people who run camps seem ready to help the movement along. It also appears that many camps which exclude members of minority groups are ashamed of the policy. All persons interested in this development will be glad to know that camps which have admitted Negroes, for instance, have not only not suffered but have attracted a more stable and understanding following among members of the "dominant race."

With a few exceptions, camps conducted by national organizations are interracial. The Boy Scouts have a number of camps which admit Negroes; nearly all the Girl Scout camps do so. The Camp Fire Girls judge all applicants on a democratic basis. In camps operated by the Friends, the Unitarian Service Committee, and other religious groups Christians and Jews, whites and blacks, work and play together with complete unconsciousness of racial or religious differences.

Camps sponsored by local organizations—colleges, schools, settlement houses, boys' clubs, and the like—are usually well enough subsidized to be able to accept applicants from underprivileged minority groups. The fees necessary to keep a good private camp in operation in themselves limit the number of non-whites who attend. The director of a private camp will often make a generous reduction for Negro children, but there is a limit to what he can do in this way. Nevertheless, an encouraging number of private camps are eager to have Negro children in their groups. I know of at least a dozen such, and the quiet manner in which many camps

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go their individual way makes it probable that there are others whose progressive attitude is unpublicized.

What are the benefits prized by directors who follow an interracial policy, and what do parents seek who send their children to such camps? Usually the directors are idealistic men and women who want to help in some small way to change the national pattern of prejudice and segregation. Not infrequently the religious concept of the brotherhood of man moves them to accept all youngsters as children of God. As one earnest director said to me a number of years ago, "Ours would not be a Christian camp if it were a 'Christian' camp."

Yet many an idealistic director who is also honest will admit that the interracial character of his camp would disappear if any one of the minority groups became dominant numerically. This paradox must be faced, and not infrequently members of the minority group are themselves concerned about the matter.

Parents of the so-called dominant majority who choose an interracial camp are probably influenced by similar social and religious convictions. They want their children to have the salutary experience of knowing members of other races and religions as friends; they realize that in the close comradeship of a camp the instinctive honesty of youth transcends the artificial barriers of race and economic circumstance.

When our own camps accepted three fine little Negro children, we would have liked to make nothing of it, to assume that parents and children would welcome the opportunity to promote democratic solidarity. We feared, however, that a few Southern parents might create a disagreeable situation, and so we wrote a short form letter to all parents informing them of our action. The many letters of approval we received were heartening. Of the ten cancelations, eight came from a particular Southern city where we happened to have contacts. There was an encouraging sequel, however: after we lost our whole group from this city, other parents, primarily faculty members of the two colleges in the city, became interested in sending their children to us, chiefly because they wanted them to know different *mores* from those prevailing in the South and to gain that invaluable ease which is based on association with minority groups.

The new contingent gradually being built up from this Southern city illustrates the dictum that the better educated a person is the broader his view and the less marked his prejudices. Our experience has also reinforced a conclusion which Lillian Smith drew from her now-famous experiment in the deep South—namely, that the more secure a person feels socially the more willing he is to take a liberal stand in interracial situations. It is the socially insecure who are the most outspoken in condemnation of minority groups. That became clear to us at the end of the first season with Negroes at camp, when we noted that certain families who would ordinarily have registered for the following season decided on one pretext or another to go elsewhere. Of course it is unfair to generalize; some of them may have decided on other grounds that it was a poor camp.

I HAVE made inquiries at all the private camps and many of the institutional camps which I know take Negroes—the least assimilable group here in the East—and have not learned of a single difficulty in the relations of the campers—not even at camps where square dances have been held for adolescent coeducational groups.

A Friends' camp on the West Coast stated in its annual report:

> This year's camp, like the former ones, made clear once again that children are "color-blind" unless prejudice is passed on to them from others. The children erected no barriers against each other on the basis of race. . . . One can only wish that those who hold doubts about such an enterprise could have visited the camp and seen how enriched were the lives of staff and campers because individuals were accepted as individuals. When campers arrived, they often had "buddies" of the same race. Soon, however, new friendships were formed, and the color of the skin seemed of no consideration.

Lack of understanding on the part of individual parents can generally be overcome with patience and tact. The head of a private camp wrote:

> On visiting days the Negro parents do not mix quite so freely with the others as the whites do with one another, but there has been only cordiality between them. One white parent was uneasy when we started having Negroes, but we have educated her, and her son is still with us. . . . Our recruiting has not suffered.

Community attitudes are often not so easily managed, though here again, if the camp enjoys the respect and confidence of the community in other ways and the issue is not forced, the passage of time is likely to overcome any hostility which may have been aroused at first.

> At present [wrote another director] there are no boarding houses where our Negro parents are able to stay during the visiting week-ends, and we have not been able so far to break down that attitude. We have worked patiently in each case of discrimination, talking the matter over with the owners, inviting them to come to camp and see what manner of people we are, but without any success so far. . . . Our [Negro] counselors are accepted in restaurants, taverns, and all other public places except the local barber shops. . . .
>
> Our community program has, I am sure, been an influence for good in the community, even though the incidents described above still can happen. We believe that it is a realistic situation for our children to know in a general way that prejudice does exist and that our little camp community is doing a pioneering job in changing people's attitudes.

Thus on a humble and little-recognized front a number of devoted camp heads and many earnest organized

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groups are making their contribution to the building of a better world for the new generation.

Some camp bureaus which offer information to parents are listed below.

NEW YORK CITY

Child Study Association, 132 East Seventy-fourth Street
New York *Herald Tribune*, School-Camp Department
New York *Times*, Camp and School Service
Parents Magazine, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue
Red Book Magazine, Department of Education, 444 Madison Avenue
Pioneer Youth of America, 45 Astor Place

BOSTON

American Camping Association, New England Section, 14 Beacon Street
Christian Science Monitor, 1 Norway Street

CHICAGO

Chicago *Herald American*, Chicago 6
Chicago *Tribune*, Tribune Square

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The School Guidance Center, 1227 Twentieth Street, NW
The Washington Schools Association, 814 Eighteenth Street, NW

British Labor's Next Step

BY DAVID C. WILLIAMS

London, April 14

LABOR Believes in Britain" is the title of the proposed program for the next general election which the Executive Committee of the Labor Party has just published. American progressives are likely to think the contents of the program as British as its title. It has the British virtues of decency, moderation, and good-will, coupled with a certain dulness which some people might consider equally characteristic. Triumphant Fabian socialism proposes to nationalize industrial insurance, water supplies, sugar, meat wholesaling, minor minerals, and cement. In this rather indigestible mouthful it will add to the one-fifth of Britain's industrial workers who have been brought into public employment a further 2 or 3 per cent.

Many observers in Britain see in the program the result of a contest between Mr. Morrison's "consolidation" and Aneurin Bevan's "all-out socialism," with consolidation winning. The Communists denounce it as rank appeasement of big business and a knuckling under to Wall Street imperialism. If past experience is any guide, this accusation may find its echoes in America. A year ago Henry Wallace, testifying against the European Recovery Program, charged that American pressure had forced the Labor government to "retreat and retreat and retreat." Similar accusations may be made now.

The charge, if made, would be as groundless now as it was then. Indeed, the main problem which confronted the Labor leaders in framing this new program arose from the very thoroughness with which the sweeping proposals of 1945 had been carried out. Far from retreating on the social-services front, the government has established a social-security system even more comprehensive than the Beveridge "cradle-to-grave" proposals. Simultaneously it has brought into being a National Health Service equaled in scope only in the Soviet Union, and much more expensive than the Russian system because British citizens expect and receive a higher standard of medical care. On the public-ownership front Labor has secured coal, transport, and power for the community, and is in process of securing steel. In less than four years it has put into effect almost the entire program for which it has campaigned for half a century.

This is particularly true of the social services, much more important in winning votes for Labor than its public-ownership program. The cost of the measures so far enacted already taxes the capacity of the British economy, and the expense of pensions and of medical care will mount from year to year, as the proportion of the aged in the population rises. It can only be borne with safety if there is a steady increase in the national income. In planning this second program, therefore, Labor leaders had to eliminate from consideration any improvement in the social services which would entail measurable public expense.

The limitations to the extension of public ownership, if less obvious, were equally real. The commanding heights of the economy, about which Socialist orators have waxed eloquent for a generation, have been stormed and taken. Important industries remain outside the public fold, but they have nothing like the place in Socialist tradition of those which are already within. Moreover, the government is now deeply involved in the actual day-to-day problems of running the industries it has already nationalized. Outside a tiny minority of zealots, there is a strong feeling that it would do well to make a success of the existing public sector of the economy before biting off still more. This was emphatically the verdict of almost all the trade unions which were consulted on the nationalization of the industries with which

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they were concerned. Labor Party leaders had also to deal with another great section of the labor movement, the cooperative societies, which tend to oppose government intervention in the many fields where they are firmly established.

TWO years ago most people closely in touch with these problems doubted that the Labor Party could go much farther this time than to point with pride to what it had already accomplished. It has in fact done much better than this—a result which may fairly be credited to the great amount of hard work and hard thinking which has gone into the job. The Labor Party Research Department, under the able leadership of the thirty-one-year-old Michael Young, produced reports totaling over 600,000 words for the consideration of the Executive Committee. The ensuing discussions, contrary to a very widespread impression, did not resolve themselves into contests between leftists and rightists but took the form of a careful examination of the facts of each problem and of suggestions for its solution. As the result of this pragmatic approach, the Executive Committee, comprising individuals of the most diverse temperaments and outlooks on life, was able to come to a unanimous agreement.

Some questions, of course, have been left open. The party does not, for instance, commit itself to nationalizing the chemicals and shipbuilding industries, but it indicates its readiness to do so if circumstances require. In taking over industrial insurance, the government is to acquire the leading companies as they stand; this means that it acquires not only their large interests in other types of insurance but also their holdings in many varieties of business enterprise. The government will thus be engaging in competition with private enterprise over a very wide front.

Indeed, competitive public enterprise is a keynote of the program. "Where private enterprise fails to act in the public interest, the nation must have the power to step in." The role of private enterprise in a mixed economy is increasingly attracting the attention of Labor's thinkers. Aneurin Bevan once described Fabian gradualist socialism as disarming the capitalist tiger claw by claw. At that time most Socialists doubtless feared that the tiger would turn on his tormentor and rend him limb from limb. Experience indicates that British business is too gentle and indolent an animal for any such outbreak of ferocity. The danger appears to be rather that the capitalist tiger, under this prolonged torture, will languish and die long before Labor is prepared to inter it. Drive and initiative are qualities in short supply in British industry, both public and private, and the government can ill afford to lose any part of the existing limited stock. Harold Wilson, youthful president of the Board of Trade, has called upon business men to recapture the spirit of the old "merchant adventurers" in invading the American market. Labor leaders are seeing more and more merit in the profit motive as an inducement to energy and ingenuity in the private sector, while the government is seeking by other means to instil the same virtues into public enterprise. The carrot of freedom from detailed controls is offered to the private enterpriser; the stick of public competition is hung ostentatiously on the woodshed wall. If business behaves itself, Labor will "continue and extend the fruitful partnership between private and public industry and the state begun during the last few years."

Many Americans would stigmatize such an approach as an appeasement of big business, which in the United States is assumed to have a vast, sinister, and secret power. British Labor suffers from no such feeling of inferiority. The Conservative Party, the authentic representative of British big business, sits as an impotent minority in Parliament and will remain a minority if Labor plays its cards skilfully. The problems present themselves tagged with the number of votes they involve. So drastic a step as the nationalization of the steel industry affects few votes one way or another. But industrial insurance will have to be carefully handled, and the sixty thousand house-to-house agents placated, or they will turn into a formidable army of canvassers against Labor.

ALL in all, it is a sweetly reasonable program which Labor will offer to the electorate. It suggests the gradual conversion of Britain into a comfortable, one might almost say a cozy, place for the citizen and his wife, a sort of bigger and better Scandinavia. If Britain could withdraw into isolation from the world, there would be little doubt about the ultimate success of the program. But situated as it is in the political and economic mainstream, it is likely to be beaten upon by all sorts of rough currents.

If there should be an American recession, Labor proposes to cushion the shock to England as follows:

> If signs of a depression should once more appear . . . the government will be ready to increase its own orders for new equipment. Local authorities and other public bodies will be encouraged to add their own projects to the nation's anti-slump effort. Above all, plans can and will be made in advance by socialized industries for stepping up investment in order to prevent any slump developing. The public sector of industry is especially valuable as a protection for the nation against economic blizzards.

The second, the political danger, is felt to arise from Russia and communism. "It is the Soviet policy of implacable non-cooperation which breeds the fear of a third world war and haunts the peaceful ambitions of peoples in every land." Nevertheless, Labor "will per-

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sistently seek and exploit every opportunity for persuading the Soviet government that the advantages to be gained from peaceful cooperation between the Communist and non-Communist worlds are immense." The Labor government "will not resort to any provocative and aggressive actions." But, in view of the Soviet attitude, "it has been necessary to pursue measures of collective security with those nations which will join with us." While the Russians are considered to have been a great disappointment, the Americans appear to have become the new favorites of British socialism. The manifesto points with pride to "new and fruitful relations with the people of the United States" in the achievement of European recovery. "Much of the credit for this wise and magnanimous outlook on the part of the American people must go to the American trade unions and the work of their representatives on the various bodies concerned with European aid."

Domestic policies, and the impact of Russia and America on Britain, involve Labor in a dilemma. Seeking economic security, it is nevertheless driven by Russian hostility into closer and closer dependence on the unstable American economy. Seeking higher standards of living for its people, it is handicapped by growing military expenditures and the maintenance of a million men in the armed forces. There could be no greater boon for British Labor than the cessation of the cold war.

It is precisely here that one feels Labor's statesmanship to be inadequate to the occasion. Britain has had far more experience in world affairs than either the Soviet Union or the United States. It should be seeking to bring that experience to bear in adjusting the many conflicts that exist in the post-war world. Instead, Britain seems to have abdicated moral as well as material leadership and to have become a helpless spectator of the contest between the two giants of world politics. If Britain is to be, as the election program grandiloquently suggests, "a pioneer for world progress," it must produce leadership more capable of firing the enthusiasm of the democratic world. Decency and moderation are splendid British qualities much needed in the world today, but it will not do to have them permanently married to mediocrity.

Peace Within Our Grasp

BY WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

[*The following article is an abridged version of the speech delivered by Supreme Court Justice Douglas at the dinner-forum of the Nation Associates on April 7. The subject discussed by the forum was "Peace: How Can It Be Achieved?"*]

PEACE is more than an absence of war. Peace is a method of solving problems by amicable means. Peace is the substitution of law for force, the use of conciliation and adjudication in lieu of armed conflict. When the problems within a nation simmer and boil and go uncared for, revolution follows. That was the course we took in the birth of this nation. And so it will be throughout time.

As between sovereign states war has always been an instrument of policy. It will remain such in spite of increasing horrors until a system of law can take its place. In other words, it will remain such until a form of government is fashioned on a world scale to handle the quarrels and disputes of peoples and nations. Unless such a system of law is provided, no nation would hazard the sacrifice of its right to wage war. A proposal to abolish war without more law is to proclaim that there is nothing worth fighting for. But there always will be something for which men will give their lives so long as freedom is insecure. And freedom will always be insecure where there is no machinery of government to administer justice and effectuate peaceful settlement of disputes and allow for bloodless change. In other words, law is the only known substitute for war.

The world is on the edge of great change. On all continents a spirit of unrest stirs the people and makes rulers uneasy. It is a protest against illiteracy, disease, poverty, and misgovernment. It sweeps the world, proclaiming against injustice and feeding on discontent.

The people of the United States have not been purposeful instigators or promoters of this unrest. We have not had agents abroad fomenting discord and revolt. But the influence we have exerted has had that effect in two respects. First, the ideals of liberty and brotherhood which democratic peoples espouse are contagious. They have whetted the appetite for freedom the world over. And second, through our mastery of the machine and the free-enterprise system we in the United States have produced a great abundance of material goods. We represent the land of plenty where poverty can be abolished and the lowliest of men can have the comforts of life.

But while we have given impetus and drive to the forces of unrest in the world, the Soviets have capitalized on them and sought to turn them into a revolution along class lines. They have activated those forces with an ideology and with propaganda; they have employed a vast network of agents to promote revolution.

Lasting peace requires that the democracies regain the

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initiative. Under democratic influences the worldwide spirit of unrest can be the means of building valuable habits of peaceful collaboration. War in this atomic age will never become an instrument of aggression under truly democratic regimes. It will become such only under the domination and direction of totalitarian management.

IF THE democratic forces are to direct the unrest of the world into peaceful and constructive channels, a positive program is needed. That program must operate at two levels—it must supply the ideology for the movement and implement it with popular understanding and organization; it must fashion concrete measures to deal with the social injustices on which the forces of revolt thrive.

An example of the first of these—the ideology—is provided by the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The declaration marks the revolt of man against his loss of freedom to the totalitarian god of authority. It seeks to preserve for man his dignity, his privacy, and his conscience. It proclaims his right to religious liberty and to free speech and expression, his right to vote, his right to work and to free choice of employment, his right to education, to fair trials, and to equal justice under the law. It reflects democratic, not totalitarian, values.

The principles indorsed by the declaration have, of course, no legal sanction, for there is no instrument of government to enforce them. But the declaration has great value, though there is no law to enforce it. It supplies a program behind which the democratic influence can be mustered the world around. It crystallizes the ideals of justice in democratic terms.

The struggle for justice is a never-ending business. There will be a struggle to attain it as long as men lust for power. It is the power of a few men over many which is the source of injustice. It may be landlords or cartels or banks on the one hand, or a political clique or a political party or a ruling class on the other. The eternal struggle of man for justice is the fight to keep any one group, whether in government or out of government, from being too powerful. The principles of the declaration reflect democratic values and can give democratic direction to the change which the world faces. We in the United States have work to do at home in order to make these principles vital components of our community life. The fact that we are progressively narrowing the areas of injustice makes us alert to the problems of others. Thus the United States has a special responsibility to promote these principles in the international community.

But if the democratic nations are to take from the Soviets control of the direction of the forces of unrest, more is needed. General principles must be furnished with specific programs of political action. We must translate principles of freedom and justice into specific and concrete ideas—into ideas as definite as bread and land.

That problem carries back to a fair distribution of the land's bounty; to nurturing and conserving the earth against the forces that destroy its fertility. The world's top soil is becoming precariously thin, as the experts have shown. The world's food supply is dangerously low. In Israel three feet of top soil were through the years washed into the Mediterranean. As Lowdermilk shows, it took all the miracles of science to reclaim that desert and transform it into a garden. It also took a high order of intelligence and organization, as well as large investments, to accomplish it. It will take the same degree of intelligence and forward planning to salvage other deserts of the world and to prevent the further depletion of its rich valleys and hillsides.

THE world's problem of poverty and hunger goes back to things other than land—to wages, housing, exploitation of natural resources, and all the many factors that bear on the standard of living of a people. They are all part of what the President has called "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."

As we give our aid in these programs of reconstruction and rehabilitation let's make certain that they promote democratic solutions of the problems. We can negotiate bankers' terms for loans that will put the projects on a sound business basis. We can also negotiate terms that will put these undertakings on a sound democratic basis so far as human rights are concerned. We can take steps to have the dollars or technical skills that we offer directed against the forces of poverty, illiteracy, disease, and misgovernment. Each new industrialization or reclamation project must be utilized for the benefit of the multitude, not merely for a few at the top.

If we neglect these things, we let the Soviets retain the initiative in directing the forces of unrest.

Ideas are even more important than dollars in this undertaking. It is the weight of our prestige and influence that is significant. If we throw it on the side of human rights the world over, the tide will turn and we will salvage even the wastelands of the world for the democratic cause. If we throw it on the side of reaction and vested interests, the democratic cause will lose as steadily in all areas as it has in China since the war.

As a result of Soviet tactics the democratic forces of the world have been drawn more closely together than ever before in days of peace. The challenge we face is to use this new solidarity to give direction to the unrest at work in the world. If those forces can be guided into democratic channels, the prospects of collaboration among the peoples of the earth in the works of peace will become immeasurably brighter.

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Del Vayo—Europe Seen from Lake Success

Lake Success, April 23

THE third week of the Assembly offered nothing sensational. The discussion of the Mindszenty case revealed very plainly that even some of the delegations that condemned Hungary and Bulgaria most severely thought it had been a mistake to allow the matter to be brought before the Assembly. In the days of the League of Nations a saner judgment would have prevailed, and the most that would have been done would have been to send the case to the International Court of Justice.

The debate on the Italian colonies continued fruitlessly, the issue serving chiefly as an excuse for deals behind the scenes. There were rumors of a traffic in votes, those of the Arabs and Latin Americans being used as a medium of exchange to obtain vague commitments with regard to Israel and Spain.

Maneuvers on the Spanish issue, which supposedly comes up for discussion on Wednesday, have gone through various stages. At the start the United States delegation, in full accord with repeated statements from Washington, did everything possible behind the scenes to bring about the annulment of the 1946 resolution against Franco. It never came out for this directly, but members lobbied in the corridors for a Brazilian initiative which would have opened the way to restoring full diplomatic representation in Madrid. Presently the United States realized that it lacked votes; to their credit, several of the Latin American states had refused to go along. Then the Americans shifted to an effort to line up enough abstentions to bring about the same result. But when it seemed possible that even a combination of votes and abstentions would be insufficient, and in view of strong French and Scandinavian opposition, there were indications that the Americans might be willing to let the whole thing drop. On the other side, the Poles, who brought the Spanish question to the agenda at Paris, still seem inclined, as this page is written, to press their own resolution calling for stronger international action against Franco.

For the Europeans at Lake Success two other causes of worry are the handling of the German question and the delay in tackling the all-important problem, now that the Atlantic Pact has been signed, of providing the countries of Western Europe with adequate means of defense. One delegate who is especially familiar with the German problem told me, confirming my own opinion, that the apparent disappointment of the German Minister-Presidents and the Bonn parliamentarians over the occupation statute agreed on in Washington was pure comedy; privately the Germans were pleasantly surprised to find that the American desire for Germany's speedy and complete revival had triumphed over French fears. Foreign Minister Robert Schuman may have obtained, on paper, enough concessions to pretend that French opinion and experience were taken into account, but the French people, and especially French experts on Germany, are not convinced.

The new German state will have executive, legislative, and judicial authority. The accumulated laws and decrees imposed by the military governors are got rid of en bloc. The occupation powers retain control of disarmament, and the Ruhr remains under the "international authority" created by the London agreement of December 28 last, but all other matters placed under the control of the Allies by the earlier occupation statute are turned back to the Germans.

This might be regarded as reasonable if the beneficiaries of the new occupation statute were Germans who would put an end to the military ideology of past centuries; not those who promoted Hitler's war and who are now in the saddle in western Germany. In the opinion of the delegate whom I quoted above, Schumacher's Social Democrats will soon cease to play any role, for big business, finance, the high clergy, and the Americans will be allied against them.

The insistent rumors that Russia might lift the blockade are welcomed by certain Western delegations as indicating a possible reexamination of the German question by the Big Four. They realize that such a move will raise awkward problems for the West, which has no wish to discuss Germany before unification of the Trizone is complete. ("Oh, horrors!" said one of these delegates humorously, "Russia is going to declare peace on us. We shall have to study the Charter to see how to stop this new form of aggression.") Just the same, they welcome any prospect of a new attempt to reach agreement with Russia on the German issue.

Having taken the temperature of Europe from Lake Success, I am more than ever convinced that now is the psychological moment for the Russians to make concrete and acceptable proposals leading to a diminution of the present international tension and a rapprochement with the United States. The initiative must come directly from the Soviet government and must not be put off very long. Part of the American press may say that the Soviets are actuated by a consciousness of defeat and weakness. But late developments in China might be regarded as a counter-balance to the setbacks the Russians have had in Berlin.

This point seems especially valid in view of the fact that the Americans themselves doubt that the defense of Europe can be organized in less than two years, even if all goes well. I was given a description of the pathetic existence of the military chiefs at Fontainebleau: sixty to eighty high-ranking officers, British, French, Dutch, Belgian—like children playing with soldiers—pouring over their maps and moving about divisions which exist only in prospect, among them German divisions which happily have not yet been recruited. To please London the Supreme Command was bestowed on the renowned Marshal Montgomery, who between tea and cocktail parties directs all these symbolic maneuvers.

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The Chinese Revolution

BY ANDREW ROTH

[*Andrew Roth,* The Nation's *correspondent in China, has been waiting in Peiping for the last two months for the Communists to withdraw their edict of February 27 ordering all foreign correspondents in that city to "cease activities." Since the ban has not been lifted, he has left Peiping for South China and will be filing regular dispatches from that area.*]

At Sea, Leaving Tientsin, April 13

SITTING in Peiping, new capital of Communist China, I got considerable entertainment out of following the controversy in the editorial columns of American and other foreign newspapers over the character of the Chinese Communist movement, now moving into the leadership of the world's most populous nation. After two months in Communist China I am firmly convinced that the movement owes its tremendous momentum and distinctive character to the three great ideas that inspire it—Marxism, agrarian revolt, and nationalism—but that the explosive force of agrarian revolt provides the main motive power.

For a century there have been sporadic revolts against the intolerable conditions in the tens of thousands of rural villages where 80 per cent of China's population lives. Through agrarian reforms the Communists have harnessed the accumulated frustration of the peasant millions. There has been considerable redistribution of land, and usurious interest rates have been scaled down. In exchange for these benefits the Communists have expected the peasants to volunteer for the "People's Liberation Army" or to supply it with grain, shoes, carts, and animals. In the main people have responded well, partly out of gratitude, partly because they are resigned to government exactions. The good treatment the soldiers have received in the army has made them receptive to Communist indoctrination, and now they regard the United States as the enemy of land reform, because it supports and arms the Kuomintang "landlords' army," and the U. S. S. R., of course, as the peasants' friend.

Students, intellectuals, and city middle classes have been brought to the Communist bandwagon by the appeal of nationalism. The heavy emphasis placed on nationalism by the Communists can be seen in the slogans painted on all the walls of Peiping. Roughly three-quarters of them accuse the Kuomintang of "selling" China to the "American imperialists." The Kuomintang is now attacked more for its subservience to the United States than for any of its other misdeeds.

Chinese nationalism is rooted in the traditional idea that China is the great "Central Country" and that all non-Chinese are "foreign barbarians." It has matured in the last century of struggle against the special privileges demanded by the Western nations. Today it would be difficult to overestimate its influence. The strong nationalist bent of the Communists is explained in part by the fact that fully 95 per cent of them have been recruited since 1937 and a large section of these came from the nationalistic youth who felt that the Communists in the north were really fighting the Japanese while the Kuomintang was sitting out the war.

The United States has made itself very vulnerable to criticism by Chinese nationalists. American marines were kept in North China long after the excuse for their being there, the evacuation of Japanese troops, had ceased to have any validity. Similarly the United States navy has retained its unofficial base at Tsingtao without any apparent purpose—except to infuriate the Communists. There are material evidences of America's aid to the Kuomintang in virtually every wayside market—canned food, uniforms, boots, and other goods, sold as army surplus, stolen from army stores, or contributed by UNRRA. The Communist army's automotive transport consists mainly of captured American trucks and jeeps, and its summer uniforms are made of American uniform cloth obtained in the same way. Many Chinese feel the United States has also used its aid program to pry economic concessions out of the Kuomintang government, such as easing foreign trade restrictions and opening China's inland waters to American shipping. And there is bitter opposition to plans to revive Japan, which is still feared.

The Russians, whose diplomacy has been so heavy-handed in many parts of the world, have played a very careful game in China. The active period of their China policy was largely limited to 1945, when they secured their Siberian flank by a treaty with China which gave them rights to the naval base of Port Arthur, the warm-water port of Dairen, and the Russian-built trans-Manchurian railway. Having gained this strategic objective, they were satisfied with stripping almost two billion dollars' worth of Japanese installations from Manchurian plants and permitting Chinese Communist troops in Manchuria to "find" large stores of Japanese arms. Denying China to the United States as a base for a possible attack on Siberia was left to the army of Mao Tse-tung. The Soviets apparently believe that the Chinese Communists would be hurt rather than helped by any intervention. The Soviet ambassador at Nanking was so eager to disclaim any official link with the Communist regime that he led the other ambassadors in following the Kuomintang government to Canton.

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In the Peiping-Tientsin area, the only Communist-held territory I have visited, I have seen few indications of Soviet influence. Some fifteen Russian mechanics were in the tank unit of General Lin Piao's army, but they may have been recruited from the Chinese-speaking Russians who have lived in China since 1917. The few Soviet trucks in Lin Piao's motorized section were vastly outnumbered by captured American equipment and were kept discreetly in the background. Probably all the trucks were moving on Soviet gasoline obtained in exchange for Manchurian grain.

It is possible that the Soviets have antagonized Chinese nationalists by intervening in Chinese affairs in Manchuria. Reliable information from that area is almost unobtainable, owing to the strict security regulations which have been in force since July, 1947. One of the persistent but completely unconfirmed rumors is that Li Li-san, who preceded Mao Tse-tung as head of the Chinese Communist Party and has spent more than a decade in Moscow, is now top man in Manchuria. If there have been objections to Russian influence in Manchuria, they have been prevented from affecting other areas by the "silence" policy of the Chinese Communist publications. An examination of back files of the Hongkong-based *China Digest* shows that in all the talk of Japanese and Kuomintang damage to Manchurian plants there has not been a single allusion to Soviet removals.

CHINESE Marxism has both molded the forces of nationalism and agrarian revolt and been molded by them. Its policies have been substantially modified by conditions in the Chinese countryside, but the Chinese party is unquestionably an orthodox Communist Party of the Leninist-Stalinist variety. Like other parties of this type, its motto is "Moscow can do no wrong." The haste with which Chinese Communist papers denounced Anna Louise Strong after Radio Moscow had accused her of being a spy was almost indecent. She had spent the past quarter-century eulogizing the Chinese Communists, but they turned against her overnight.

The discipline enforced in the party is no mean accomplishment in a country in which family discipline is virtually the only kind discernible. Its three million puritanical zealots may well become the hard core around which flabby China will be unified for the first time in a century. That the party is governed from the top is apparent from the number of questions which officials have to refer to their superiors and from their frequent ignorance of the reason for decisions. When the foreign correspondents were silenced last February, nobody knew for certain why the leadership had taken this step.

The party's flexible and pragmatic domestic policy contrasts strikingly with its intransigent attitude toward foreign affairs. Back in 1927 Mao Tse-tung learned it was necessary to abandon the doctrinaire Moscow approach to China's domestic problems, and since then the Communist movement has thrived by adapting its theories to its experience. In the foreign field the Communists have been willing to view affairs through Moscow-tinted glasses. Almost all their foreign news dispatches carry a Tass credit line. The tendency to accept Moscow's vitriolic attacks on America and its allies has been strengthened of course by American attempts to buy the obliteration of the Chinese Communists.

Edgar Snow has suggested that since only the Chinese and Yugoslav Communists have carved out their own armies and administrations virtually without Moscow's help, Mao Tse-tung may follow in Tito's footsteps. At present no one can say whether Communist China's course will diverge from that of the U. S. S. R. The only way that the United States could help to break the ideological link would be by totally abandoning the Kuomintang and recognizing the claims of Chinese nationalism—particularly in the field of economic reconstruction.

THE importance of the agrarian revolution carried out by the Communists in the rural areas which they have conquered may eventually be surpassed by the industrial revolution whose first faint beginnings can now be noted in the cities. The party's decision to make increased industrial production its prime objective was taken at the end of January and was reemphasized in March at a meeting of the Central Committee in Shihchiachuang. The striking importance of this shift was underlined in the *People's Daily*, Communist organ for North China, in an editorial of March 17:

> During the past twenty years the emphasis of our work has been first on villages and only secondarily on cities. This has been because the counter-revolutionary forces in the villages are relatively weak, so that it is easier for a revolutionary force to exist and develop. . . . But now the cities, which are changing from counter-revolutionary fortresses into revolutionary fortresses, are entering the period in which they belong forever to the people. Therefore . . . we must reverse our twenty-year-old method. . . . If we cannot do our city work well . . . it will be impossible to transform China from an agricultural nation into an industrial nation. Without this the people's revolutionary rights cannot be safeguarded, and the people themselves will be unable to work toward a completely new and better life.

The Chinese Communists, the editorial pointed out, hope to convert the cities from centers for the import of foreign industrial goods and the export of cheap raw materials to real industrial bases:

> Then the cities can supply the villages with the cheap industrial products they need and receive agricultural products in exchange. The cities and villages will be transformed from mutual enemies into mutual dependents. In this way the city workers' lives can be im-

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proved, resistance against the economic aggression of imperialist nations can be built up, . . . the workers and farmers' unions can be supported, and the People's Democratic Government can be strengthened. . . .

We have made a mistake in that we have not paid sufficient attention to this question in some cities we have had in our possession for upwards of a month.

The criticism in the last paragraph is one in which many foreign and Chinese business men and industrialists will concur. Business men complain that at the outset the Communists stopped all trading until regulations could be issued and then the regulations proved too onerous for trade to be profitable. Thus the ship on which I left Communist China sailed 95 per cent empty because it was not worth the exporters' while to ship their goods. Some of the exchange regulations are also keeping out needed imports. The Communists have set up a government trading corporation and have reserved for it many of China's best exports, such as hog bristles, but they are hampered by lack of contacts abroad.

Another difficulty is that many of the political workers assigned to handle industry and foreign trade have been young Communists without any commercial or industrial experience and very suspicious of any attempt to educate them about the facts of economic life. And in addition there is the very touchy nationalism of the new administrators. For example, although they have promised protection to foreign interests, they clearly resent the fact that the Kailan mines, North China's most important mineral asset, are a joint Sino-British concern, and in consequence they have made it difficult for the mines to operate. There are signs, however, that economic pressure is already reshaping policy. When the Communists found the Kailan mines had a million tons of coal above ground and a large force of hungry miners, trade was reopened with Kuomintang-held Shanghai in order to obtain flour for the coal.

THE "New Democratic" economy which the Communists want to establish is a kind of state-supervised capitalism. Since they believe that China must have a much stronger industrial base before a Socialist society can be erected, they have limited their expropriations to government firms or those owned by the so-called "bureaucratic capitalists"—the fabulously wealthy Kuomintang tycoons, the Chiangs, Kungs, Soongs, and Chens. Other private business, whether Chinese or foreign, they have announced, will be encouraged. However, it is clear that there are limits to their encouragement of private enterprise. An editorial in the March 17 *People's Daily* said:

> It is wrong, of course, if we pay attention only to private enterprises and neglect government enterprises, or if we support those kinds of private capitalism which are harmful to the plans of the state or the people's livelihood.

Among the "harmful" types of private capitalist activity are speculation and the use of scarce materials for unnecessary luxuries.

> But it is also wrong [the editorial continued] to impose too great or improper limitations on private enterprises, thus preventing them from developing or perhaps putting them out of business. It has already been decided that at present we need the development of private capitalism. We should keep it within proper limits and lead it in the proper direction.

In a hurry to make China economically self-sufficient, apparently out of fear of an imminent World War III, the Communists have attempted to put foreign trade on a semi-barter basis. China, however, has only a limited number of articles to offer—hog bristles, tung oil, tungsten, furs, and wools—and most of these can be acquired in other parts of the world. Furthermore, while the Communists have some excellent theoretical economists, they have few if any skilled bankers or international traders. They do have a small number of industrial technicians, but no able industrial planners have yet emerged, no one of the caliber of Hilary Minc, for example, who did so much to speed Poland's industrial growth. In consequence their initial attempts to expand production and channel foreign trade through Tientsin have brought something close to stagnation in both fields. Shanghai, with half of China's industrial capacity and the largest chunk of its foreign trade, presents an even stiffer problem.

Many diplomatic observers and foreign business men think that the Chinese Communists overestimate the possibility of rapidly industrializing China without depending to a considerable extent on the non-Soviet world. These skeptics hold that China's economic development has been too dependent on the West to be speedily reoriented. Moreover, Russian economic assistance in the shape of industrial machinery is sharply limited by prior commitments for the Soviet Union's own industrial expansion and that of Eastern Europe. The Chinese Communists, in the view of these Western observers, will have to turn a friendlier face to the West in the not too distant future if they want to fulfil their dream of a modern China.

But it is still much too early to judge what the Chinese Communists will be able to do with their present economic resources. Their main effort is now concentrated on knocking out the Kuomintang. It is clear that they attach considerable weight to strengthening China's industrial power, and to most neutral observers, if not to foreign business men, their theoretical approach seems sound. It should be remembered that the Chinese Communists have displayed a very considerable ability to comprehend and overcome the enormous difficulties they have encountered in the fields of agrarian reform and military conquest.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Riddle of Shaw

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

WHEN I was a child, we had a cook who was strongly opposed to our not finishing a pudding. Whatever we left on our plates she would serve up the next day, but frozen, under the pretext that it was ice cream. Two recent books* of Bernard Shaw's opinions in his extreme old age inevitably give the impression of frozen left-overs.

"16 Self Sketches" are mostly remnants rescued from the past, written at various periods over the last thirty years. "Days with Bernard Shaw" is a volume of carefully recorded conversations with him, written down by his neighbor Stephen Winsten, during the last years of the war and the first year of the peace.

Shaw is certainly one of the most puzzling case histories in modern literature. He evidently considers himself, and he may well be, the greatest living reputation. Yet his works have scarcely been discussed by modern critics. The various essays devoted to him have been by enthusiasts of his biography and his personality rather than of his works. Apart from one interesting essay by Edmund Wilson, I can think of no serious criticism of his many volumes. The aggressive Shavian self-assertiveness has perhaps frightened off the critics, who like to get their teeth into something massive, soft, and yielding, like Henry James.

These two volumes emphasize that Shaw considers himself a poetic dramatist, a social reformer, a Socialist who has revolutionized the social conditions of his age. He admits though to being an "irrepressible mountebank," so perhaps these claims are not altogether serious. Yet they must in some sense be serious, or they would not be funny: it would be merely silly for anyone except Shaw to make them. Rather magnificent, in Winsten's book, is the portrait of the vain old man. The fear that he will be forgotten, that the young do not read him, that, after all, history has passed him by is grandiose and defiant, like Shaw's passion for money. At times he takes his place beside Yeats in his old age, or beside the magnificent last pages of "Finnegans Wake." Only the Irish are capable of such a glittering ruinous splendor. This makes it all the odder that Shaw seems to have regarded Yeats as a poet who "went wrong" because he "could not spell and had no sense of number"; and James Joyce as a writer of pornographic plays. (What plays does he mean, incidentally?)

The only contemporary poet whom

*"16 Self Sketches." By Bernard Shaw. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.50.

"Days with Bernard Shaw." By Stephen Winsten, The Vanguard Press. $3.75.

A Perfectly Free Association

(Mayday: the radio telephone distress signal used by ships and aircraft)

The torn-up newspaper
Out under the tree is blossoms
Or the first snow of May.
This year, those years
There was snow on the first of May.
The blossoms turned black and fell from the branches
The way a man falls from the door of a transport:
The black, writhing lump
Bursts suddenly, is gay
With the silk of the shrouding canopy—
Friends blossom by, a light tank, mortars,
And they fall through the light wind, roll
Head over heels through the grass of the meadow,
And scratch for themselves a sort of shallow
Pit or grave, and lie
Waiting there in the earth of their grave.
The wave
The wind makes over the grasses
Runs for a thousand miles, then birches
Run by huts, by tractors, for a thousand miles:
Then there is a field or square of the files
Of the men who fell from the plane.
They march in leather
By tanks, beneath fighters:
Red Square.

On the first of May
There was a sort of fighting in my soul
That would not let me sleep: I got up early
And walked out into the meadow with its row
Of graves; there was not one Maypole
And the cups of the flowers brimmed with snow.
May Day! May Day!
In the gray night, almost day,
There is snow in flurries,
And the tower at the field on the edge of the marshes
Looks into the snow that hides the sea
And hears, from the homing fighter,
The fairly scared, the fairly gay
Voice saying, *Mayday! Mayday!*
Then there is a position, static,
And the voice ends on *May*—

RANDALL JARRELL

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Shaw admired was W. H. Davies, unless one counts also Gilbert Murray, whose translations of Aeschylus and Euripides Shaw regards as masterpieces.

Perhaps Shaw is a two-dimensional giant moving in his own two-dimensional world. According to the rules of this two-dimensional existence, he never errs. In public life, he believes that it is far more important that men should change society than that they should improve themselves. For to Shaw the individual is like a sentence within the book which is written by social conditions. For him, in literature, the difference between poetry and prose is that poetry rhymes and has "number," prose doesn't. He found rhyming tedious; so he wrote his plays in prose. In private life, every problem should be solved by the kind of good sense which operates on the heart of the problem, reducing it to an abstraction dealt with by the intellectual will. Thus sex is the problem in marriage: all right, marriage must be without sex. This precept might seem to be Shaw at his least serious, but apparently it is the one which he acted upon in his own marriage. Meals must be without meat, and clothes without linings, not for the kind of reasons which would move Christ or Gandhi, but in order to reduce these problems of actuality to levels of theory.

In his plays Shaw develops artistically in the same two-dimensional way. Edmund Wilson has pointed out—what Shaw himself draws attention to—that there is musical art, borrowed largely from Mozart, in Shaw's plays. That is to say, he has learned from music the secret of external form and progression and sequence: movement of pattern within a mood which could be determined by a musical direction; the art of instrumentation by which dialogue is interwoven, like wood wind with strings. But while Shaw has learned the external tact of musicianship and applied it to drama, he has not learned the inwardness of Mozart. His art is the direction of dialogue from the outside, not the creating of character from within. When he tries (as in "Heartbreak House") to model a play on Chekhov's "inside" creation of character, he becomes, as when he tries (in "Saint Joan") to be poetic, self-conscious and almost embarrassing.

Thus Shaw's great achievement has been to stand outside and above the struggle with words, the struggle with the "blood and mire" of personal experience, which is the lot of other contemporary writers. He has conducted brilliant arguments with his generation in which his dialectical method has consisted in shifting the argument, constantly and with great skill, so that his opponent is left with the feeling that the ground, changed so often, has been cut from under his feet. Shaw all his life has defended socialism and even called himself a Communist. At the same time he has fought against all direct taxation of his own earnings, and is proud today to call himself a millionaire. One wonders what ground Shaw stands on in his fight for socialism. The answer seems to be contained in a recent letter to the *New Statesman and Nation* in which he explains that while he has always believed in complete equality of income he has always assumed that this income should be raised to five thousand pounds a year for everyone. To have an income below this is, apparently, not to be a Socialist but to indulge in the crime of poverty.

Shaw, of course, can be forgiven everything, because he is a great entertainer. To my mind, entertainers are the only people entitled to claim as much as they want of everything from their contemporaries, because they are the only ones who have an immediate and obvious public value. Politicians, inventors, and saints do at least as much harm as they do good, and poets and philosophers must wait on posterity to decide their worth. But the entertainer has immediate worth and therefore should be immediately accepted and rewarded. Shaw deserves to be a millionaire.

However, Shaw is more than entertainer, and this is where the difficulty for the critic arises. What is the central passion of his work? The answer is, I think, a kind of fanatical good sense, prepared to sacrifice feeling and enjoyment to good sense, and therefore sometimes fraying at the edges into vegetarian and anti-vivisectionist nonsense. Here, in conversation with Winsten, is an example of this passion:

When things look very black, G. B. S. said, it is well to remember that public evils are not millionfold evils. What you yourself suffer is the utmost that can be suffered on earth. If you starve to death, you experience all the starvation that has ever been or ever can be. If ten thousand others starve with you, their suffering is not increased by a single pang; their share in your fate does not make you ten thousand times as hungry nor prolong your suffering ten thousand times. You should not therefore be oppressed by the frightful sum of human suffering. There is no sum. Two lean women are not twice as lean as one nor two fat women twice as fat as one. Poverty and pain are not

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cumulative, and you must not let your spirit be crushed by the fancy that it is. . . . Do not let your mind be disabled by excessive sympathy. At present nobody can be healthy or happy or honorable; our standards are low, so that when we call ourselves so, we mean only that we are not sick, nor crying, nor lying, nor stealing.

This is a noble message, merciful both to those who suffer and to those who are oppressed by the thought of their suffering, and justifying happiness. It contains the best of Shaw, a kind of serious laughter, a refusal to be discouraged, and at the same time a refusal to adopt the aesthetic pose of the creative artist, of Yeats for instance, dancing over the destruction of a civilization.

Shaw reveals in the Self Sketches, and again in his conversation, what he plainly considers the biographical clue to his own psychology. His father was a drunkard, a fact which must have frustrated his relationship with his children long before they became conscious of it. His mother resolved the problem of living with her husband by living according to a program of determined good sense, at the price of completely destroying all affection and need of affection in herself. She took into her home her singing teacher Lee, who was not, Shaw insists, her lover, but who became a substitute father to the Shaw children. In short, the key to Shaw is that he feels himself to have been unloved when he was a child. His life and work have been a heroic, intellectually willed solution, a compensation for this psychological lack. That its effects have always persisted in him is curiously shown, I think, by the examples quoted in these books of his extreme imperturbability in the presence of the deaths of those very close to him. To be completely "reasonable" about the deaths of others shows, I think, a very deep repression of feeling and also a reliance on the force of one's own separate life which arises from a lack of confidence in affection.

Shaw's vanity is obvious, but there is also humility in the way he reveals the lovelessness which is the source of his deepest self-reliance and also of a certain weakness. Our own generation has many reasons to be grateful to him. Future generations will judge whether or not his best work triumphs over the lovelessness in his nature and attains that charity without which literature cannot survive.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE MIDDLE SECTION of humanity has taken a great deal of punishment. Artists and writers have attacked it and ridiculed it for its indifference, its low taste, its "virtuous materialism," and its philistinism. Communists have excoriated it for its capitalist vices of profit-seeking and exploitation of the working class, and determined that it must and can be destroyed or proletarianized. Fascists have seduced it by appealing to its worst impulses, leading it into a trap of self-destruction baited with promises of world conquest and bigger and better pogroms of Jews, reds, intellectuals, and foreigners. In the words of the popular song, this middle group has been bewitched, bothered, and bewildered by all those who "knew what it was all about" from the extreme left to the extreme right.

Liberals and Socialists have done their share of the bear-baiting, and much has been quite justified, for it's true a good deal of what they say about the middle class. But one of the ironies of history is that liberals and Socialists, intellectuals and workers, are beginning to discover that they too are people in the middle and that they have in common with the middle class certain interests which are worth defending even at the price of admitting that a business man is a human being and not merely an expendable social statistic, and that the average American's belief in individualism and independence, however selfish it is and whatever the uses he makes of it, may after all be genuine. In a word, they have come round to the conviction that a free society, however untidy, is preferable to any other.

The most recent example of this shift

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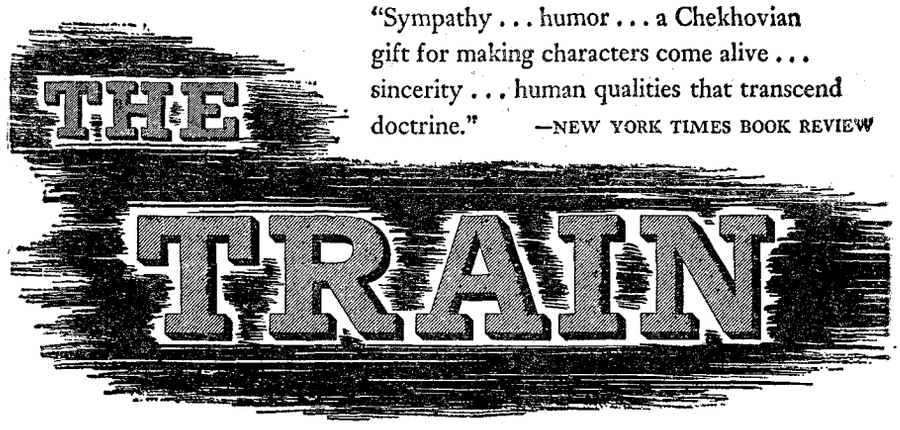

AWARDED THE STALIN PRIZE, 1ST CLASS, IN 1946

by
VERA PANOVA

Here is a book that reverts to the great Russian tradition of the novel. Turning from Soviet propagandism, vainglory, and heroics, it is a simple, realistic story—with no axe to grind—of ordinary men and women whom you will find, as the *New Yorker* says "unforgettable."

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in thinking on the non-Communist left is Leland Stowe's book "Target: You" (Knopf, $3). Mr. Stowe believes, and makes no bones about saying so, that the world's last best hope not only for a decent future but for any future at all lies in the intelligent action of the people in the middle, from the non-Communist left to the non-fascist right, from the trade unionist to the business man, from the lower to the higher income brackets. And he believes further that since the United States is the strongest remaining citadel of this group, it is up to the middle citizens of America to prevent war, to beat off the blandishments and encroachments of totalitarians on the left and on the right, to preserve and extend democratic freedoms at home and abroad, and to bring about eventually world government based on world law.

To this end he proposes to educate, not to eliminate, the people in the middle. This seems to me a sensible objective, if only because, as many another before Mr. Stowe has pointed out, most Americans, psychologically if not otherwise, belong to the middle class. It also offers tremendous difficulties, of which Mr. Stowe is quite aware. And his book, therefore, is at once a challenge, a warning, and a lecture on the facts of life to Americans in the middle.

Mr. Stowe has set himself a large order. And the result is something of a tour de force. In his first two chapters Mr. Stowe conducts a critical examination of the character, the situation, and the state of mind of Americans in the middle. It is not flattering. In Chapter III, entitled Americans and Europeans, he discusses the elements which divide and the interests which must unite the two communities; and states the case for his belief that Western Europe is the center of decision for the survival of democracy everywhere. In Chapter IV he gives an account of how fascism came to Europe and in Chapter V sums up what the Second World War did to Europeans. This chapter includes, by the way, an excellent and searing analysis of American post-war policy in Greece and Italy, and of our stubbornness and lack of insight in refusing to accept the fact that democratic socialism or at least a mixed economy is not only Europe's choice but the only possible solution of its problems. (If Americans could be led to accept this fact they might then be ready to face the even more shocking fact that our own economy has always been mixed—and that subsidies to shipbuilders, tariffs to protect sheep and sugar growers, and land grants to railroad builders have been financed out of the same public pocket as TVA.)

Western Europe is the center of decision, but the responsibility for insuring that the decision goes in favor of democracy, prosperity, and peace rests squarely on the middle citizen of America. Mr. Stowe thinks that John Between has the capacity and the power to carry out this responsibility. He is not so sure that John Between will recognize it, and understand the issues at stake, in time to save Europe—and himself—though Truman's victory justifiably gives him reason for hope.

One of the hazards is that this middle citizen is the main target of the totalitarians because, with his prosperity and his freedom, he is the principal obstacle to their triumph; and because in spite of all that has happened in Europe he is still susceptible to the seduction of the red left and the black right which have helped to bring Europe to its present pass. He is caught, so to speak, between the underdogma of the left and the upperdogma of the right. Mr. Stowe weighs the dangers from both sides and concludes, rightly I think, that the indigenous black right presents a far greater threat, now and later on, than the red left operating out of Moscow. The general run of Americans are by now fully aware of Communists and their methods, and they should be. The irony is that they are not only ignoring the continuous and increasing consolidation of the black right but accepting it as an ally and adopting its techniques in combating the red left. Mr. Stowe's remedy is not new, but it is still the best available—unending exposure of the techniques and propaganda of the groups at both ends of the political scale, and a jealous vigilance in preserving every man's rights under the law. In this connection he examines the problem of security and loyalty tests in detail, and points out the necessity of working out a solution that will provide security without curtailing our liberties. And in one of his best chapters he not only discusses the astronomical costs —and the ultimate futility—of *national* defense at a time when atomic warfare has actually occurred and bacteriological warfare is waiting its turn, but also examines the effect that the present theory and practice of national defense, long drawn out, must have on our economy and on our liberties.

Another hazard to the middle citizen —and to Europe—is the danger of a

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depression. It is a catastrophe the Communists dream about—the Communist passion for catastrophe would make an interesting psychological study—but though it would undoubtedly win converts to their ranks, this very fact would be grist to the mill of the black right and open to its uses, just as it did in Germany, great reservoirs of power and wealth.

Mr. Stowe's last chapter is a plea for federation and more federation of the regional variety that can lead eventually to world federation and world law.

"Target: You" is a tract for the times which breathes the crusading spirit of the pamphleteer (is Leland, by any chance, related to Harriet?), but it is also packed with facts and marked by an admirable sense of proportion. I found it impressive, and I hope that it will receive wide and careful reading.

ANTHONY BOWER, who has been reviewing the films for *The Nation* for the past several months, has gone to Europe for an extended stay. He plans to send reports to *The Nation* from time to time about films and other matters. Beginning next week, the film column will be conducted by Manny Farber, who was for some years film critic for the *New Republic*.

Wyatt and Others

ELIZABETHAN LYRICS. Edited by Norman Ault. The Macmillan Company. $5.

SOME POEMS OF SIR THOMAS WYATT. Edited by Alan Swallow. Swallow Press and William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

BOTH these books are of interest and value not only to the special student of Elizabethan letters but also to the general reader. Mr. Ault's substantial anthology, first published in England in 1925 and subsequently here by Longmans, has been revised in the light of recent scholarship; additions have been made in the way of new pieces, and there is now also an appendix with brief biographies of the poets of the period. On this evidence, which runs from 1533 to 1620, the Elizabethans seem full of innocence and delight, producing both geat poets and charming versifiers; the volume has a fair share of conventional stock pieces: scholarship aside, for the rescue from oblivion of the anonymous lyric beginning, "I heard a noise and wishëd for a sight," Mr. Ault has a lasting claim on our gratitude.

Mr. Swallow, also in the light of recent scholarship, has arranged the twenty-eight poems of Wyatt to show his range and development; sonnets, lyrics, what might be called plain songs, satires, religious poems, and translations are all included. Thus we are given an idea of Wyatt's variety, but we also have his integrity, unity, personality—the poet comes through in the round and able to cast a shadow. Mr. Swallow's introduction is brief and to the point, and the book is very nicely designed and printed.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Some Recent Novels

A WREATH OF ROSES. By Elizabeth Taylor. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THE GIRL ON THE VIA FLAMINIA. By Alfred Hayes. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THE BARRIERS BETWEEN. By Marc Brandel. The Dial Press. $3.

IT IS scarcely because Elizabeth Taylor has chosen a happier subject that, of these three novels, hers affords one the only genuine pleasure. Nor is "A Wreath of Roses" in any sense an ideal or a great novel; it is what would have been called, earlier, a slice of life. It labors no thesis, it dramatizes no profound moral problems, it stresses no temporal alignment; if Miss Taylor brings it round full circle at the very end in a wry concession to plot, this is her one mistake. But it illuminates and delights in the human personality and spirit as the others do not; and it is distinguished from them by qualities of freshness and immediacy that give it emotional vitality and by the pure light of intelligence that graces it entire.

It concerns three old friends who are pursuing a long-established tradition of a summer vacation together. Liz and Camilla, two young Englishwomen who had been at school together, meet again at the country house of Frances, an older woman who had been Liz's governess and who has spent her life painting. The familiar arrangement has always been relished by the three; this year inner and outer changes have operated to affect their pleasant communion. The warm, impulsive Liz has married a self-important ladies' man of a clergyman and has her baby, about whom she frets, with her. The reserved, intellectually curious Camilla is at an emotional crossroads, troubled by longings for experiences beyond her usual removed and limited schoolteacher's scope; Frances has, during the year,

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discovered an unsuspected turmoil, darkness, and savagery inside her that have made her old luminous pictures no longer possible.

Camilla and Liz, though still deeply devoted, are somewhat estranged, too; Liz has shifted her center, and Cam envies her her richer experience at the same time that she is rather contemptuous of her husband, Arthur. On her way Camilla has also had an encounter calculated to give a new tone to the holiday. She has met a man on the train, of "the kind she believed she despised," but with whom she finds her feelings unaccountably occupied. The subtly mounting tension of the relationship and the slow revelation of a psychopathic personality constitute most of the drama here. At the end Miss Taylor seems to have carried us, with the character of Richard Elton, into deeps and darks outside the true range of this work, but this flaw has no retroactive ill effects on the book's virtues.

The other characters fall into place with no splashings; Morland Beddoes, the gentle and understanding admirer of Frances's work, who has written her for years and has now come at last to meet her; the limited clergyman, not without virtue; the earthy household helper, Mrs. Parsons. Set up this way, the cast and situation sound not too promising, but the felicities gather up the book, the ease and sensitivity of the writing are positive joys. Virginia Woolf, Ivy Compton-Burnett, and Elizabeth Bowen must welcome Miss Taylor to their company.

Alfred Hayes is another matter. He has flung himself mightily at the walls of Mr. Hemingway's establishment. Perhaps it is the singsong simplicity, the bareness of the short, spat dialogue, the determinedness of the understatement, and the war background, making natural the bitterness and confusion of values and feelings, that give this book the air of having been both written and read before.

Mr. Hayes has set up his situation very neatly. A plain, well-meaning American soldier who in "liberated" Rome is hungry for the semblance of home, an ordered life, a comforting love, makes a deal whereby, for certain benefits (PX variety), he can come "home" to a "wife." Home is a room in the apartment of an Italian family. Adele, the mother, is worldly, gruff, but kind, knows how to make her cynical adjustments; Ugo, the tired old man, is saddened, wise, humane; the son, Antonio, ferocious in his resentment of the Americans. So too is the girl Lise, whom Adele has found for Robert. Lise is a good and sensitive (also blondly beautiful) girl; she has not given way before, like so many others, but hunger has driven her, to her shame and despair, to this arrangement. She fights Robert with words and feelings; he, poor innocent ("They were all fine now. You went on so long and then there was a break, a chance, a difference. Things got fine again. he was sure of it"), pushes along hopefully and becomes genuinely attached to her. When the Italian police pick her up and give her a yellow ticket, she breaks completely, and runs off, to one kind of destruction or another.

This is a tight, small novel, written more in terms of a play, and it suffers from a permeating self-consciousness and an obvious intention to be significant, intense, universal. Honestly meant, I think, it somehow manages an air of falsity. The simplicity seems affected, and a terrible tediousness threatens it all the way. The emotional situations follow one another with a kind of manufactured momentum, possibly because these characters are dramatized, personalized attitudes, not human beings caught in a drama of conflicting needs. The seeds of poignance are certainly here; it would perhaps require inspired acting to bring them to fruition.

Marc Brandel's "The Barriers Between" is the third published novel of a young man terrifyingly young-looking and astonishingly traveled. It is a thoroughly conscientious account of a neurotic's flight from a murderous act and from his own complicated sense of guilt, his shattering anxieties. He finds a kind of salvation—if one may use such a word in so psychiatric a context—in turning outward to help another sufferer, and, somewhat ennobled and calm, returns to the scene of the crime to find he has not, after all, actually committed it. "All at once he realized that he was free now . . . free as he had never been in his life before. Free to live consciously and intelligently and cooperatively in the world." Mr. Brandel seems to present a challenge to practicing analysts.

Jordan Bushnel, who has been an artist-correspondent, feels the guilt of the non-combatant, and suffers in spite of the worldly success of his paintings because he understands their falseness. Unhappy and bitter, he struggles in Mexico with his conflicts, his mistress, his hated homosexual friend, drinks prodigiously, and is perpetually and mercilessly concerned with himself. In his self-preoccupation he makes out a richly documented case history, but a case history has never yet amounted to a human being.

The book is as garrulous as a naturally facile writer can make it, filled with ineptitudes and vulgarities. It is jejune, a pump regularly primed, and the frenetic, hysterical, whining tone in which we must learn our hero for 240 pages has become, long before then, nearly unendurable.

Marc Brandel will surely go on to write innumerable highly competent and quasi-sophisticated novels. Except for its crippling infirmities, that is, in fact, what he has done here.

GERTRUDE BUCKMAN

In Next Week's Issue of THE *Nation*—

SPRING BOOKS

HUMANISM AND THE MIDDLE CLASS
By Lionel Trilling

LONDON LETTER
By Stephen Spender

REVIEWS

"Hawthorne" by Mark Van Doren
Reviewed by Irving Howe

"The Language of Wisdom and Folly"
Reviewed by Stuart Chase

"American Themes" by D. W. Brogan
Reviewed by Perry Miller

"American Freedom and Catholic Power" by Paul Blanshard
Reviewed by Norman Thomas

"Dry Messiah" by Virginius Dabney
Reviewed by McAlister Coleman

"Labor in America" by Foster Rhea Dulles
Reviewed by A. H. Raskin

"The Fateful Years" by Andre Francois-Poncet
Reviewed by Albert Guerard

Fiction in Review
By Diana Trilling

DRAMA • FILMS • MUSIC
By Joseph Wood Krutch, Manny Farber and B. H. Haggin

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

DEGAS'S pastels and later oils, hung together in any number, have a wonderful, glowing effect, as can be seen in the room to the left as one gets off the elevator at the big Degas exhibition at Wildenstein's (through May 14). But this breaks down under closer examination: it is discovered to be a decorative, ensemble effect, and not that of a mustering of pictures which are masterpieces in their individual right. The explanation of this discrepancy between the whole and its parts lies, I think, in the powerful general quality of color Degas achieved after the late eighteen-seventies, but this was something he was unable to marry successfully to his drawing or design, and thus unable to organize as an integral element of the picture.

In so far as Degas followed each step in the evolution of impressionism, he did a certain amount of violence to both his strengths and limitations as a colorist. He proclaimed his lack of interest in color repeatedly, but here deceived himself as much as he did others. And he seems to have deceived himself equally about his relation to impressionism as a formal movement. In spite of his violent disclaimers of membership, his independent personal behavior, and his continuing emphasis on draftsmanship, he remained among its most faithful adherents, participating in all but one of the impressionist group shows. In the earlier stages of impressionism—while Manet was the leading influence—Degas was a very great painter. Manet's tendency to work in large and abruptly opposed areas of dark and light, the flattened, simplified, and relatively few planes with which he secured the illusion of depth, his hard and decisive silhouetting, his fondness for blacks and whites and tube color—all this Degas found congenial to his own gift as a draftsman, and during the time he followed Manet's lead he painted most of his greatest pictures. And he did more than follow. He may have lacked something of his mentor's force, but he surpassed him in many ways as a picture-composer and altogether as a colorist: his browns, yellows, tans, grays, and blues have a cool radiance beside which Manet's palette seems dry. The direct brilliance, moreover, of the reds reflected in the mirror behind the figure in the superb little "Man in a Blouse" of 1874 anticipates the extremest freedom of color in twentieth-century art.

The apparently unfinished "Lady with Umbrella" of 1877 that hangs next to the "Man in a Blouse" at Wildenstein's gives us the other pole of Degas's talent: the head is Ingresque but more intensely naturalistic, brushed in with a swift yet precise delicacy that reminds one of Goya—to whom Degas must have gone as directly as did Manet.

Degas had a real capacity for color, but it was thwarted by his adoption of the divided-tone technique that Monet and Renoir introduced into impressionism in the late seventies. It was unfortunate for him that he did not part company with the movement as soon as divisionism became its hallmark. The fact is, however, that he could not bear to separate himself from the school that had helped make him the artist he was and that, for all his pretensions to the status of a lone wolf, he could not be unaffected by the development of the only contemporary artists in whose work he was genuinely interested. So he followed and competed with Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Sisley in their quest of light and evanescent color. Yet at the same time he refused to paint outdoors and continued to insist on the primacy of line and contour—elements manifestly made discordant, not to say supererogatory, by the impressionist aesthetic of the interwoven passage. And while he strove, succeeding in his pastels at least, to make his color even more prismatic and overpowering in its luminosity than Renoir's or Monet's, he did not at all relax his emphasis on drawing. The result was to set up two competing systems inside the single picture: composition by masses of color and composition by tensions of line. The color remains unprecipitated, so to speak, something that shifts away from the contour-embraced forms and asserts a structure at variance with theirs. Usually, in the pastels, the pigment is applied with a coruscating intensity which is too even and complete and which, because it is not modulated in accordance with the drama of the linear design, seems superimposed. One's eyes become surfeited and bored. And sometimes Degas resolved the conflict between impressionist color and emphatic drawing by retreating toward the picturesque, muting his color but not muting it enough, so that the result became pretty and little else. See, for example, the "Race Horses" of 1884 at Wildenstein's, or some of the smaller ballet pictures.

But how well Degas could still handle color when he abandoned the impressionist method of divided tones is shown later on by his portrait of Henri Rouart and his son Alexis, which he painted in 1895, and which the Wildenstein catalogue—an excellent one—says was his last finished portrait. Why he suddenly changed his style at this point I do not know, but can only hazard that he may have been influenced at the moment by

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his juniors, Gauguin and Van Gogh, or even by the earlier Cézanne. Here, at any rate, he builds his picture out of a few summarily outlined areas of flat, unbroken high color, laying the paint on with little medium and obtaining thereby a simple, intense strength that makes the pastels look meretricious by comparison. The success is owed to the harmony between drawing and color, and this is achieved because the latter reflects Degas's temperament and not merely his adherence to impressionism and his competition with his fellow-impressionists. The color is positive and literal, as suited Degas's design, not diffused and generalized as under the impressionist method.

Perhaps the representation of Degas's later period could have been much better chosen for the show at Wildenstein's. Certainly, there could have been more monochrome drawings, a medium in which the artist was always successful, even in old age. But bad judgment can do only so much harm. Despite the portrait of Henri Rouart and his son, one is forced to conclude that Degas was a truly great painter only up to the eighteen-eighties.

Beginning Next Week
Manny Farber on Films

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IN BLOCH'S String Quartet No. 2, when I first heard it played by the Griller Quartet two years ago, I detected no connection with his previous works; and it sounded as though he had tried to write like Bartok—which is to say that it progressed through regions of musical thought in which my mind could find no path. But additional hearings of the work provided by the English Decca recording of the Griller Quartet performance (EDA-93, $11.55) have enabled me to perceive a connection with the previous works, and to follow the thought in this one. The connection is like that of Verdi's "Otello" with his earlier operas: Bloch's quartet, that is, exhibits a similar refinement and subtilization of the earlier language and style, and of the earlier brooding impassioned content. It is the slow portions—the first and third movements, the passacaglia section of the fourth movement—that I have in mind: in them the fitting of note to note in the texture is a fascinating operation by a master craftsman, and eloquence is achieved by a fastidious artist (the fast portions I find uninteresting). The performance seems excellent and is superbly reproduced; but the violin sound comes out sharp.

From English Decca also comes a recording (EDA-105, $11.55) of Bartok's Concerto for Orchestra played by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Van Beinum. Here it is the fast and light portions that I find engaging—the *Allegretto scherzando* movement with its grotesquerie, the headlong finale, and above all the *Intermezzo interrotto*, which I find unique in the music of Bartok I have heard in its subtly wrought loveliness of sound and expressive content. This performance has less drive and fire than the one recently recorded for Columbia by Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony; but the Amsterdam is so much finer an orchestra, its playing so much more beautiful and so much more beautifully reproduced—with so much more distinctness and spaciousness in quiet, though with an edge on the violins—that it is the one to prefer.

Then a recording (EDA-107, $5.25) of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony performed by Münch with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra. The orchestra is a fine one; the performance excellent and superbly reproduced. However, the Boston Symphony plays with even more brilliance of sonority and execution, and the performance recently issued by RCA Victor has long been one of Koussevitzky's triumphs; also it is beautifully reproduced, even if not with the Decca distinctness and Decca's quiet surfaces; and so I would prefer it.

And on Decca single records: Schubert's charming "Rosamunde" Overture, performed with warmth and lightness by Krips and the London Symphony (K-2071, $2.10); and the Waltz and Polonaise from Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin," performed without grace by Sanford Robinson and the National Symphony, and reproduced without luster in the violin sounds (K-1301).

From Columbia a recording (MM-821, $4.15) of Schumann's Symphony No. 4 played by Szell and the Cleveland Orchestra. This is music which calls for relaxation and warmth; but what it gets is hard efficiency. Much of the time the recorded sound is very good; but on a couple of sides it is strident, and a couple of others in my copy waver in pitch. Moreover, surfaces are not quiet.

Another set (MM-820, $3.57) offers Debussy's Trois Ballades de François Villon and Ravel's "Don Quichotte à Dulcinée" sung by Singher with the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony under Abravanel. The songs I don't care for; the singing has less quaver and more tone than I have heard from Singher recently.

Israel Music Foundation has issued "Land of Israel," containing three 10-inch vinylite records ($5) with a number of songs which I find quite poor as music, but which I can report are, for the most part, adequately performed and recorded.

If—as someone contended—the brevity of my statement made it ineffective, let me repeat with emphasis that the Mercury set of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet offers a very fine and well-recorded performance of this wonderful work by the Fine Arts Quartet.

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Letters to the Editors

WALDORF AFTERMATH

Dr. Hook Protests

Dear Sirs: Freda Kirchwey's criticisms (Battle of the Waldorf, *The Nation* of April 2) of the activities of Americans for Intellectual Freedom are neither accurate nor just. Far from "rejecting as a frame-up every attempt to talk to Russians or other Communists," our chief indictment of the Communist-controlled Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was that it made honest discussion impossible by rigging the program.

It is not true that the only evidence for this charge was the conference's refusal to permit me to read a paper or discuss at any of its three plenary sessions, despite the request made to Dr. Shapley by two members of the Program Committee. Not one well-known critic of Soviet totalitarianism was invited to participate in its program. Edmund Wilson, for example, was not invited to talk with, or back to, Fadayev, Stravinsky to Shostakovitch, or Professor H. J. Muller, the American Nobel prize winner and geneticist, to Professor Oparin, who had moved to expel Professor Muller from the Soviet Academy of Sciences when word of Muller's criticisms of Lysenko (and his resignation) was received in Moscow. Miss Kirchwey herself is compelled to admit that "genuine discussion was no more possible than at last summer's meeting in Poland." But the organizers of the conference pretended that there would be a free and fair interchange of views. A few questions from the floor do not constitute a discussion.

It was in order to protest this intellectual fraud and to discuss the necessary conditions for intellectual and artistic freedom *everywhere* that Americans for Intellectual Freedom convened its rally. Miss Kirchwey to the contrary notwithstanding, we invited Dr. Shapley or anyone he delegated to speak at our meeting. We also offered to arrange a special meeting of American novelists with Fadayev, and of American scientists and philosophers with other delegates from Eastern countries.

Miss Kirchwey is mistaken again in implying that were we to run a "peace conference" we would not make room "for even the limited ideological differences that emerged at the Waldorf." As anyone knows who listened to our speakers, especially the noted pacifist, A. J. Muste, more differences on foreign policy were expressed than have ever been voiced at the dinner forums of *The Nation* since the days of Oswald G. Villard.

To distort and caricature the position of American liberals who have opposed *all* forms of totalitarianism, including the Soviet variety, is no new thing for Miss Kirchwey. Ten years ago when the Committee for Cultural Freedom, under the leadership of John Dewey, Horace M. Kallen, Ferdinand Lundberg, and others, was organized, Miss Kirchwey used the same strategy to attack severely, not the Communist enemies of democracy and intellectual freedom, but those who criticized the Communists. She denied that there was any such thing as "red totalitarianism," insisted that the Communist Party was an integral part of the liberal movement, and although admitting irritation with their manners, asserted that the Communists "have helped to build up and run a string of organizations—known as 'fronts' by their opponents—which clearly (*sic!*) serve the cause not of 'totalitarian doctrine' but of a more workable democracy" (May 27, 1939).

A few weeks later (August 10) when the Communists issued a fierce diatribe against the organizers of the Committee for Cultural Freedom as "fascists and their allies," for referring to the Soviet Union as totalitarian, and for warning of the possibility of an alliance with Hitler, all Miss Kirchwey had to say—and this *after* the Nazi-Soviet pact was a reality—was that the Communist denunciation "seemed uncritical" (September 2, 1939).

The record of Miss Kirchwey's "totalitarian liberalism" has been spread on the political pages of *The Nation* during the last ten years for all to see. It has been a record of intellectual and moral double-dealing. Miss Kirchwey has remained silent before, or condoned, outrages against democracy and human decency in the so-called "new democracies" which have been infinitely worse than the derelictions of the West against which all liberals have properly protested.

The great bulk of American liberals no longer regard *The Nation* as an organ of liberal opinion. But some of them at least are not prepared to absolve it from the duty of accurate reporting.

SIDNEY HOOK

New York, April 4

Miss Kirchwey Replies

DR. HOOK has an impressive gift for making much out of little and of twisting that little. If I wronged him or his committee by saying that "if anti-Communists of the Hook school" are sincere in not wanting war, they "should be wary of rejecting as a frame-up every attempt to talk to Russians or other Communists," then I am sorry. But this remark was a general observation at the conclusion of a much longer comment on his committee's rally. All that he omitted. What I said directly about his committee was this: ". . . their attacks [on the Waldorf conference] were expressed in the dignified language of intellectuals, and they also criticized the State Department for refusing visas to foreign delegates. The purpose of the group, apparently, was to demolish the claim of the N. C. A. S. P. that its conference was not a controlled affair designed, in Dr. Hook's words, to further the 'interests of Soviet foreign policy.'" There was more, but that gives the tenor of my comment. Was it unjust? Was it inaccurate?

Dr. Hook further says it is "not true that the only evidence" that the program of the Waldorf conference was "rigged" was its refusal to permit him to read a paper at one of the plenary sessions. But I did not say it was. What I said was quite different. I said: "Dr. Hook's chief indictment of the direction of the conference itself was that it had declined to allow him to speak. . . ." Perhaps he multiplied indictments later on, but that was certainly the first one—and the one on which he based his numerous vehement protests to sponsors, together with demands that they insist he be put on the program or resign if he were not.

Dr. Hook *invited himself* to speak at the Waldorf conference and specified

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a plenary session. This seems to me an altogether astonishing performance, proving considerably more about Dr. Hook than about his opponents. Dr. Shapley's refusal was at least polite; he explained that the program was already complete when Dr. Hook demanded a place on it. But suppose this was inaccurate, suppose Shapley was deceived, as Hook later charged in an unmannerly invasion of Shapley's private room at the Waldorf, even so I cannot see why the conference should have to justify its failure to invite Dr. Hook or to accept his self-invitation.

But let us assume Dr. Hook was left off the program because of his violent opposition to Russia and to communism. And let us assume the same thing about the other intellectuals and artists mentioned by Dr. Hook. Is even this evidence of "fraud" or of "organized Communist duplicity"? I'll confess I don't think so. I think it only proves what hardly needed proof: that the Waldorf conference was a left-wing affair run by an organization which has never concealed its leftist complexion. The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions is made up of people of about the same range of opinion as the membership of the Wallace party—Communists, near-Communists, and assorted liberals who believe peace requires a policy of conciliation with Russia. The conference invited as speakers mostly people who sympathize with this view—along with a fair number, obviously anti-Communist, chosen for their eminence or special knowledge: such men as Norman Cousins, Bryn J. Hovde, Trygve Lie, Isador Lubin, Gordon Clapp, Stacy May, Louis Wirth, and Thomas Parran. Of these and others, only Cousins accepted.

The sessions were "free" within the range of opinion represented above. But it would be nonsense to pretend that speakers or delegates comprised a cross-section of American opinion, or that a vigorous interchange of conflicting views was the order of the day. At a meeting like the Waldorf conference one hears variations on a theme rather than discords. Dr. Hook says I was "compelled to admit that 'genuine discussion was no more possible than at last summer's meeting in Poland.'" This is an example of debating tactics he must have picked up from his long study of the Communist Party. I was neither "compelled" to do anything nor did I "admit" anything; I simply stated a fact, and a liberal "liberal" would, I think, have put this down to "accurate reporting," rather than compulsion.

Dr. Hook says his committee invited Dr. Shapley or anyone he delegated to speak at the counter-conference and also offered to arrange meetings between the Eastern representatives and Americans. I must confess that I find this statement wholly disingenuous. Since he had denounced the other meeting and attacked its managers, sponsors, and delegates, Dr. Hook's invitation could be regarded as nothing more than a political gesture. Perhaps it was justified as such, but it cannot in honesty be presented as a friendly offer of cooperation. On the other hand, Dr. Hook's refusal to permit T. O. Thackrey to speak at the counter-rally was amazing in view of his own righteous indignation over Shapley's refusal to permit him to speak at the Waldorf.

Why can't Dr. Hook admit the simple, not very shocking or fraudulent fact that when partisan organizations, left, right, or center, hold meetings, they act like partisan organizations, favoring people of their own general point of view and rejecting most of those who detest and oppose them? Admit this, and there is still plenty of room to denounce the opinions expressed at the Waldorf meetings as lop-sided, dangerous, seditious, or anything Mr. Hook pleases. I disagree with a large part of what I heard there. The concentration of fire on American foreign policy and the whitewashing of Russia distorted the whole picture, in my opinion. There was no attempt to analyze the balance of responsibility, and few sensible proposals for ending the cold war. But all this does not add up to "fraud," in my opinion.

AS FOR my past, I shall try to correct a few of Dr. Hook's distortions and for the rest stand on the record. I did not deny, as Dr. Hook charges, "that there was any such thing as 'red totalitarianism'" nor did I insist "that the Communist Party was an integral part of the liberal movement." I said several other things but neither of those. I did oppose Mr. Hook's organization, the Committee for Cultural Freedom, as an attempt to split the left at a time when Communists and many left liberals were still able to cooperate on certain limited fronts—before the Soviet-Nazi pact drew a hard line between the Communists and the unchanging opponents of fascism. As if making a generous concession, Dr. Hook credits me with "admitting irritation with their [the Communists'] manners." Here I will quote the lines Dr. Hook refers to as comment on his use of evidence:

> The Communist Party is a nuisance or a menace to all its opponents. Whatever its line may be, its tactics are invariably provocative and often destructive. Not only do Communists try to inject partisan ideas into the program of most organizations in which they are active; not only do they fight ruthlessly and tenaciously to make those ideas prevail; they also have been guilty, in many known instances, of using against their enemies methods of attack that were both unscrupulous and callous. Their verbal technique is evident in the pages of the party press; vituperation and downright slander have been weapons frequently employed, whether against the "social fascists" of yesteryear or the "Trotskyists" of today. The result has been to create a fund of bitterness on the left which can be drawn upon whenever a convenient occasion arises.

Dr. Hook's rather obscure reference to *The Nation's* comment (an unsigned editorial paragraph) on the "diatribe" issued by "the Communists" makes it

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appear that I regarded that document as merely "uncritical." Our editorial actually characterized it as "an unqualified indorsement of the Soviet system," said it was opposed by a majority of *The Nation* editors, and wound up by wondering how many of the 400 signers—of whom only a few if any *were* Communists—would have indorsed it if they could have foreseen the advent during that very week of the Nazi-Soviet pact. We had previously attacked the pact with all the editorial vigor at our command.

The whole exchange of views among Mr. Hook's group, the left-wing group, and ourselves is instructive to review in the light of subsequent happenings. If any readers are interested and have bound volumes of *The Nation* at hand, they will find all the evidence in the issues of May 27, June 17, July 15, August 26, and September 2, 1939.

HAVING described my record as one "of intellectual double-dealing" Dr. Hook pronounces judgment. He says "the great bulk of American liberals no longer regard *The Nation* as an organ of liberal opinion." I may presume to challenge Dr. Hook's credentials as spokesman of American liberalism in the bulk, but I can hardly doubt that he speaks for himself. Does he also voice the opinion of his fellow-members of the Committee for Cultural Freedom?

In the light of his solemn verdict, I wish to say only this: During the period between 1939 and 1949 Dr. Hook himself has contributed thirteen articles and reviews to *The Nation*. During the same decade twenty-five members of his committee have contributed more than ninety articles, reviews, and poems. In addition *The Nation* has carried innumerable articles by some fifty other persons whose opposition to communism is as vocal and unremitting as Dr. Hook's.

It seems odd that Dr. Hook and his political allies should have wished to appear time after time in a journal which is no longer regarded as an organ of liberal opinion. Odd, too, that an illiberal editor with a ten-year record of "intellectual and moral double-dealing" should go on printing these people. For the first time I have realized how very odd it is.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

For reasons of space, Frank W. Lewis's crossword puzzle has been omitted from this issue. It will appear next week as usual.

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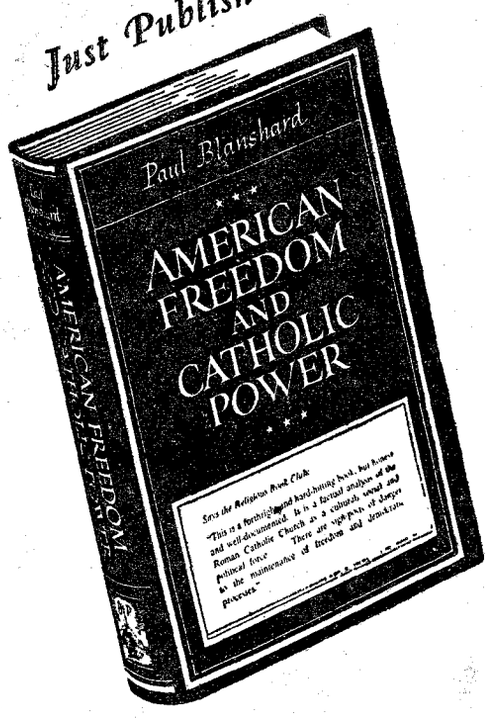

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